HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Defeat of the Quie Amendment

Another Boost for Federal Control Over Schools

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

For the first time in the 90th Congress, the House last week grappled with high political principle. The House won. By a handful of votes, the Administration's forces defeated what had become known as the "Quie Amendment" to the aid to education bill. It was a great day for Lyndon Johnson, but federalism went down for the count.

Not to prolong the metaphor, but this was something less than a fair encounter. The House leadership hit the Quie proposal with every dirty trick of misrepresentation known to the fight game.

In the early rounds it was made to appear that the amendment would antagonize the Catholics, hurt the innocent Indians and penalize poor colored children all across the land. There was not a word of truth in these charges, but the amendment's supporters never could rise above them.

By way of background, it may be recalled that the Johnson Administration broke new ground in 1965 with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of that year. The act launched this country's first program of general federal aid to education. Beginning with the 1966-67 school year, hundreds of millions of dollars in grants became available, primarily for aid to poverty-stricken children.

The act dodged nimbly around the church-state issue; it provided funds for the purchase of textbooks and library materials; it set up grants for planning and research. Now it is proposed to expand and extend the law for another two years, which is to say, to make permanent a continuing program of massive federal aid to local schools.

Commissioner of Education Harold Howe (left) will still have a very strong voice in deciding how state and local schools spend money, in spite of the efforts of Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) to bring some decentralization to federal education programs.

Manifestly, the 1965 act has done much good. Not even the most bitter critic of federal aid can deny it. Yet the fund distribution formula produced some wild inequities, and the machinery devised by the sponsors led to an ominous centralization of power in Washington.

The act gave lip service to the states; it contained some pious prohibitions against federal control; but at every critical point, the final decision-making power—the power to approve or disapprove a local school board's application—was vested in U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe.

The sole purpose of the amendment sponsored by Minnesota's able young Albert Quie, a rising figure in the House, was to reduce the inequities and to restore the principle of state and local administration. Toward that end, he devised a new formula for block grants to the states. Under this plan no state or territory would have received less than it is receiving this year, but the federal money would have been provided as a lump sum calculated according to school population and average personal income.

This was the right way to go about it. Assuming that general federal aid to education is here to stay—and plainly it is—those who concern themselves realistically with political problems have a high obligation. It is to apply what George Mason long ago described as fundamental principles. Among these is the principle of federalism, which holds that powers not delegated by the Constitution to the national government are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people. The power to create and to maintain a system of public education surely is among the greatest of these powers.

Yet the effect of the aid to education act, over the past year or so, has been almost to nullify that power. Federal officials, to be sure, deny that charge; they insist that local applications are just that—local applications. They do not acknowledge that prudent school superintendents, skilled in the arts of grantsmanship, tailor their applications to what they think their Washington masters will approve.

In a hundred subtle ways, the proliferating new programs of federally subsidized education are made to fit into molds created by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The hands may be the hands of some local Esau, but the voice is the voice of Commissioner Howe.

Quie's amendment was intended to let other voices be heard. A former school board member himself, back in his native Dennison, the Minnesotan knows that states and localities have widely varying problems of education. These will not yield to a single federal solution, or even to two or three approved alternatives. Local school problems demand local involvement and local decision-making. Under any other approach, the whole concept of state responsibility tends to wither and die.

Quie fought the good fight; and though this battle was lost, the war for a viable federalism will have to be carried on.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover recently told a House Appropriations subcommittee that members of the **Cuban mission** to the United States purchased combat boots, cartridge belts, bayonets, combat knives and other equipment that could be used for guerrilla warfare in Latin America.

● **Alexander Trowbridge**, who is being elevated to secretary of commerce by LBJ, is a strong supporter of trading with the Communists.

● The **Supreme Court** last week ruled 6 to 3 that homosexuals may be deported under the 1962 Immigration and Nationality Act. Dissenting along with Justices Fortas and Brennan was William O. Douglas, who said, "It is common knowledge that in this century homosexuals have risen high in our own public service—both in Congress and the executive branch—and have served with distinction."

● Nelson Rockefeller's 1966 campaign manager, William Pfeiffer, admitted recently that six members of the New York governor's family contributed more than **$3.5 million** to the campaign. Rocky's stepmother, Mrs. Martha Baird Rockefeller, was the largest contributor, kicking in $2.15 million. A Rockefeller spokesman said the governor "has no comment on whether it's right for one family to contribute so much money to a political campaign. He has said in the past that everything that's been done has been within the law."

● Last week's election victory of Republican Anthony Licata over **James P. Hoffa**, son of the labor leader—which gives the Republicans a one-seat majority in the Michigan State Assembly—is seen by observers as a small boost for Gov. George Romney's presidential chances. Licata had the backing of Romney, which proved more effective than Hoffa's endorsement by both Robert Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey.

● Should **Stokely Carmichael**, "Black Power" leader extraordinaire, be permitted to exhort his followers to violence? A number of legislators believe some law should be drafted to silence his seditious outbursts since violence always seems to follow in his wake. Recently, Carmichael was recorded by Washington radio station WTOP as saying, "We're going to shoot the cops who are shooting our black brothers in the back in this country. That's where we're going." (For more on Carmichael, see page 9.)

● Even the always cautious Washington Evening Star has had some unkind words about **Ramsey Clark**, describing the attorney general as someone "who seems to think that crime is something of a myth."

● Rep. **Joseph Resnick** (D.-N.Y.) has disclosed the fact that he is seriously thinking of challenging Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) when Javits comes up for re-election in 1968. Resnick, who, like Javits, is Jewish, says he's considering undertaking the fight because Javits has refused to give his wholehearted support to the war effort in Viet Nam.

● Regarding that Senate **staff study on Viet Nam**, Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.), who initiated the report, has hailed the document and claimed that "it is a signal achievement that no one has challenged the facts." In actuality, several of the alleged "facts" were immediately challenged by Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.). A detailed analysis of the report by M. Stanton Evans appeared in last week's Human Events.

● Auto sales are still lagging but **Walter Reuther** is readying contract demands that would add hundreds of dollars to new car prices. Reuther's demands include a guaranteed annual wage, a 7 per cent wage hike, cost-of-living pension hikes, earlier retirement and assorted fringe benefits.

● Leftist John Gerassi, a writer and professor of journalism at New York University, has announced that a "**Revolutionary Peace Corps**" has announced it would send young Americans to "work with the national liberation forces wherever they are."

● It's going to be a **long, hot summer** and subversives will unquestionably be involved. Members of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, both of which have Communist ties, have already been active in melees in Houston, Cleveland and San Francisco.

● Post Office officials are refusing to give Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) the name of the man responsible for **get-rich-quick contracts** that enabled builders to lease facilities to the government at handsome profits. The department says only that the official is no longer with the government. "It's strange to me," Williams replied sharply, "that the Post Office knows Mr. X has left, but they do not know who Mr. X is."

● **Nineteen Democratic congressmen** defeated last fall for re-election are currently feeding at the public trough. Latest LBJ loyalist to win a posh federal post is Raymond F. Clevenger of Michigan, named the $25,890-a-year chairman of the Great Lakes Basin Commission.

● One high-ranking Republican—an expert on Red trade—insists that Rep. **Paul Findley** (R.-Ill) has launched his campaign to get the United States to recognize Red China and begin trade with that Communist country as a favor to Lyndon Johnson for federal aid to Findley's district.

● Sen. **Stephen M. Young** (D.-Ohio), a bleeding heart liberal of the old school, outdid himself last week when he referred to Social Security checks as "God's sunshine."

● Belgian authorities blame **Communist terrorists** for the tragic fire that ravaged Brussels' largest department store last week, killing more than 50 people. The seven-story structure was the target of Red sabotage because it featured U.S. goods.

● Prodded by Lady Bird, LBJ continues to push for the abolition of virtually **all billboards** from the nation's highways. But in 1958, before he was bitten by the beautification bug, then-Sen. Johnson voted against federal billboard restrictions because of the "great number of people who would be adversely affected."

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Are Liberals Turning 'Right'?

Politicos on Capitol Hill are pondering the meaning of an astonishing article in the June issue of *Commentary* by Bobby Kennedy's strong left arm, Richard Goodwin.

GOODWIN

In accents strikingly reminiscent of Barry Goldwater, Goodwin strongly raps the growing size of the federal government. Although the Goodwin article is written from a liberal slant, it nevertheless reveals, say some pros, that the left is also growing tired of Big Brother or, at least, realizes there are votes to be found in assailing the growing bureaucratic structure in Washington.

Decentralization of government, Goodwin insists, will be "the decisive issue" in the years ahead.

Warning that the swift growth of federal power is diminishing the significance of the individual citizen, Goodwin says the Supreme Court must share the blame for this trend.

Criticizing the centralizing thrust of the New Deal, Goodwin notes: "One need only look at the fantastic labyrinth of welfare programs, the monstrous incapacities of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—operated by one of the best teams of executives in government—as well as the foreseeable futilities of the New Departments of Housing and Urban Development and Transporation, to realize that something is wrong with the old approach."

"Anti-poverty and job retraining programs," he maintains, "should be increasingly handed over to community groups instead of being drawn, as they now are, closer to the federal government. Aid to education might well be administered to a far larger degree by local boards, subject only to the most general standards."

In connection with foreign affairs, Goodwin writes that, " . . . the concentration of power over foreign affairs in a single man—long a goal of that liberal thought which was contemptuous of congressional conservatism—has dissolved the normal checks of our institutional structure. . . . It is possible that conservatives have something to teach about the value of institutional arrangements, and the unwisdom of sacrificing them to immediate desires."

Not a few liberal politicos in the Congress have been somewhat shaken by Goodwin's remarks, for they're beginning to wonder if they should start scrambling aboard the Goodwin platform if it is to become the "wave of the future."

At any rate, say the pros, the fact that liberals like Goodwin are beginning to waken to the frightening aspects of an omnipotent federal government is a significant political event and a big plus for the conservative cause.

Appeasing Nasser Fails

Diplomatic experts in Washington are saying that the Kennedy-Johnson Administration is to blame for the current crisis in the Middle East. They believe that Nasser, even though emboldened by Soviet support, would have been far less likely to have obtained withdrawal of United Nations forces from the Israeli-Egyptian border, initiated a blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba and threatened a Holy War against Israel if it hadn't been for U.S. blunders. Here's part of their thinking on the matter:

NASSER

• The man who helped trigger the turmoil was none other than the LBJ-backed U Thant, who unilaterally and hastily ordered the withdrawal of United Nations forces, even though the U.N. secretary-general could have, in the words of one State Department spokesman, "diplomatically dragged his feet" while the situation hopefully calmed down.

Columnist William S. White noted that Thant, who had found it easy enough to stall the U.N. bureaucracy when India invaded the tiny Portuguese enclave of Goa, "leaped like a shot to remove U.N. troops from Gaza under what he calls an imperative 'demand' from Nasser that was never made in the first place. . . . Actually, what Nasser had first 'demanded' was not a precipitate withdrawal of the U.N. force but only its movement back some distance from the Egyptian frontier. It was U Thant himself who took the extreme step of taking out the force." This withdrawal, White added, was "to give the front man for pro-Communist Arab extremists, President Nasser of Egypt, an immense victory."

• While almost every knowledgeable observer agrees that Thant botched the job, what is largely overlooked is the fact that it is the United States that is responsible for the free-wheeling Burmese Marxist being in his present powerful position. Thant, who has frequently assailed the American position in Viet Nam and is very sympathetic to anti-American elements, openly declared last year that he wanted "out" of his U.N. job. But the Burmese diplomat changed his mind when the United States energetically urged him to remain. America's ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg, repeatedly pressed Thant to stay on the job. He did—and that's one reason the United States is now in a jam.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

• Veteran diplomats stress that Nasser is able to flex his muscles largely because the United States has been keeping him afloat, even though the Egyptian dictator has been, a la Castro, stirring up revolution throughout the Mideast and Africa. Since John F. Kennedy assumed office, the United States has given close to a billion dollars worth of food to Nasser and encouraged American companies to develop his oil resources.

In July 1965 Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska), a dove on Viet Nam but a hawk on Nasser, argued that LBJ had consistently ignored a 1963 amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act in order to aid Egypt. The amendment provided that no further assistance and no further sales under Public Law 480 should be made to any nations the President found to be engaging in or preparing for aggressive military efforts against any country receiving assistance from the United States. Despite Nasser's naked assault on Yemen beginning in 1962, his active aid to Red rebels in the Congo, his creation of the pro-Communist Palestine Liberation Organization, etc., *ad nauseam*, LBJ did not find that the UAR was an aggressor. Hence, Nasser continued to receive substantial U.S. aid.

• U.S. handling of the Yemen crisis may have encouraged Nasser's aggressive instincts more than any other single act of American diplomacy in recent years. On Sept. 26, 1962, anti-American, pro-Nasser revolutionaries expelled Yemen's pro-Western ruler from the capital and plunged the country into a chaotic civil war which has yet to be resolved.

Carefully nurtured by Nasser, the revolution soon required Nasser's direct intervention and by December no fewer than 13,000 Soviet-supplied Egyptian troops had invaded Yemen to help the rebels flatten the royalists. On December 19, three months before the UAR forces could even capture some of the important central eastern towns, the United States—to the consternation of the Western-aligned Arab powers—recognized the pro-Nasser revolutionaries as the Yemeni Arab Republic and began channelling American aid to the new government. Robert Komer, now, alarmingly, in charge of America's pacification program in Viet Nam, was the key man to urge recognition.

Even the New York *Times* noted that this act "created considerable confusion and dismay among the pro-Western monarchies of the Middle East and appeared to encourage rather than neutralize the aggrandizing instincts of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. . . . Soon, much to Mr. Komer's dismay, President Kennedy was referring to it as 'Mr. Komer's war.' " Komer's war or not, LBJ continued to support the pro-Nasser regime in Yemen.

Such massive encouragement of Nasser is considered the real reason the United States—and the world—is now in deep trouble in the Middle East.

The Education Battle

Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) lost a battle when liberal Democrats—and such "Republicans" as Alphonzo Bell (Calif.) and Frank Horton (N.Y.)—teamed up to defeat his anti-statist education measure, but he didn't lose the war. (See front cover for more on Quie measure.)

GREEN

Because of Administration pressures, many lawmakers refused to vote for the Quie measure and thus provide the GOP with a stunning victory over LBJ. But even so, the House was not exactly enthralled with Johnson's own $3.4-billion school aid bill. Quie had made such a good case for transferring federal authority over education back to the states that the House drastically revised LBJ's school measure anyway.

The lawmakers, for example, agreed to accept an amendment by Rep. John Erlenborn (R.-Ill.) to drop the Teacher Corps—which lets the federal government set standards for teachers. They then proceeded to get behind two amendments proposed by the usually liberal Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.)—both of which aimed at decreasing the power of Big Brother. One of Mrs. Green's amendments shifts control of the $105 million for innovative programs under Title III—a major section of the education bill—from the Office of Education to the state education agencies. Specifically, the amendment now gives the state agencies the power to approve all programs developed under this title before they must accept them.

The second Green amendment provides that all $25 million for the development of regional school plans under Title V will be administered by the states, not the controversial Harold Howe, commissioner of education.

The Administration considered these amendments such dreadful blows to its plans to invest even greater power in the hands of Washington that it has already begun mobilizing its forces to undo the House amendments in the Senate.

Conservative Triumph

Kentucky Republicans showed last week that conservatism in the GOP is still a potent force as Louie B. Nunn narrowly defeated Marlow Cook, a Louisville "moderate," in that state's gubernatorial primary. Although the national press characterized the race as "bitter" and the New York *Times* bemoaned the "sharp setback" of "progressive Republicanism," loser Cook, in conceding, offered to manage Nunn's campaign. Hence, it appears that Kentucky Republicans will go into the fall battle united.

NUNN

"Open housing" was the major issue. Cook, who was considered a liberal on civil rights, appeared to hedge his position on the subject, primarily to avoid giving Nunn a campaign issue, since the Louisville demonstrations have aroused the ire of many Kentuckians. In fact, the Democratic primary winner, Highway Commissioner Henry Ward, also came out against "open housing."

Although Nunn was initially favored to win on the strength of his rural "Bible Belt" following, Cook received the last-minute blessings of popular Sen.

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John Sherman Cooper, who accused Nunn of "appeals to prejudice" and raising the religious issue (Cook is a Roman Catholic). But it appears that the primary battle was more a rural-urban, conservative-liberal fight than one involving "appeals to racism."

While Kentucky has not had a GOP governor in 20 years, Nunn is given a good chance to win; he narrowly lost a bid in 1963 by 15,000 votes.

A Nunn victory in November, say observers, would enhance conservative influence in Kentucky's delegation to the 1968 GOP convention, despite the fact that Senators Cooper and Thruston Morton (who stayed neutral in the primary race) tend to lean toward Gov. George Romney as their candidate. Morton is up for re-election in 1968 and his presidential preferences are likely to be muted until GOP national political trends become more clear-cut.

Falling Away from LBJ

The Democratic split on Viet Nam grows ever wider. In recent weeks, four Democratic senators have indicated they may not support LBJ in 1968 and several other solons are reportedly preparing to echo their sentiments.

METCALF

Sens. George McGovern (S.D.) and J. W. Fulbright (Ark.), both up for re-election in 1968, have yet to endorse the President for another term. Sen. Wayne Morse (Ore.), another candidate for re-election, publicly called for the nomination of Bobby Kennedy. And Sen. Lee Metcalf (Mont.) announced that he would desert his President to vote for a Republican who favored a halt in the bombing of North Viet Nam and a negotiated settlement.

By not so strange coincidence, Metcalf's disassociation from LBJ came at a time when the long-respected Montana Poll shows that virtually any prominent Republican would trounce Johnson.

The survey showed that Nixon, Reagan, Romney, Rockefeller and Percy would beat Johnson by nearly 2 to 1. In 1964, it is recalled, Johnson carried Montana.

Note: In New York, prominent "reform" Democrats are publicly breaking with Johnson on the Viet Nam issue. City Councilman Theodore Weiss announced that he would not attend a Democratic fund-raising dinner, declaring:

"For me to pay honor to Lyndon Johnson at this time would involve not only stifling my own conscience, but, I believe, would misrepresent the views of most Democrats in my district."

Three Democratic members of the state legislature joined Weiss in boycotting the dinner, as did numerous district leaders. An aide to Rep. William Fitts Ryan (D.-N.Y.) said the congressman "honestly does not know at this time if he'll attend."

Soviets Humiliate U.S.

"When will we recognize a kick in the face as a kick in the face?" asked a disgusted senator last week in the wake of the Kremlin's latest humiliation of the United States.

JOHNSON

At the urging of President Johnson, 18 American firms had entered the International Food Exposition in Moscow. Acting with government sponsorship, they spent $1 million on an American pavilion that displayed the latest U.S. technology for processing, packaging and distributing food products.

The participation of these firms, Johnson had said, would lead to better East-West relations, increase Soviet-American trade, and encourage "liberalization" within the Kremlin. The Moscow fair was to represent a major span in LBJ's program of "building bridges" to the Soviet Union.

But Soviet leaders made clear last week that "bridge building" is an exercise in American futility. On May 24 the Moscow fair was visited by Soviet Premier Kosygin and Communist party boss Brezhnev. For more than two hours, they toured the pavilions of the 21 nations that were participating with the United States in the fair. The Soviet leaders were all smiles, pumping hands and slapping backs.

The American pavilion was to be the final stop on their tour and top executives of the 18 firms were on hand to represent the United States in LBJ's quest for peace. Nervously they awaited the arrival of the Kremlin leaders.

They are still waiting. Kosygin and Brezhnev walked up to the American pavilion, then turned their backs on the U.S. representatives and stalked away. According to Kremlinologists, the deliberate snub was designed to underscore "irreconcilable differences" with the West.

The businessmen were outraged, reportedly not so much at the Russians but at the U.S. government which had put heavy pressure on them to make the visit in the interest of East-West harmony. Several of the executives made plans to leave Moscow immediately, although the fair was scheduled to run for another week.

King's Red Allies

The Rev. Martin Luther King has angrily denounced as "scurrilous" allegations that he is collaborating with the "Hate America" left in his campaign against U.S. policy in Viet Nam.

KING

But the facts are indisputable.

Confidential government reports disclose that hard-core Communists completely dominated a recent closed-door conference at which the basic strategy of the American "peace" movement was set. The two-day conference was held May 20-21 at Washington's Hawthorne School.

Ostensibly the conference was sponsored by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, the "broadly based" group with which King is working. But of the 700 delegates in attendance, half were members of the Communist party or other subversive groups, according to government agents who infiltrated the confab.

The Reds, who took their cues from National Committeeman Arnold Johnson, easily controlled the conference. Other CP wheelhorses who served as delegates included Bettina Aptheker, James Jackson, Jose Rictorucci and Archie Brown.

Two long-time associates of Dr. King—the Rev. James Bevel and Jack O'Dell—played key roles in the Washington meeting.

Bevel delivered a major address and led an angry demonstration outside the White House. During the conference, Bevel was asked point-blank if he were a Communist. He refused to answer.

O'Dell, a 5th Amendment pleader in congressional testimony in 1956, directed the workshop on fund-raising. Like Bevel, O'Dell is a former salaried official of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

GOP Rips Red Trade

At their weekly news conference last week, Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen and House GOP Leader Gerald Ford came out strongly against any "bridge-building" with Russia while the Viet Nam war is in progress. Said Dirksen: "Is trade so sweet and profit so desirable as to be purchased at the price we now pay in death and agony? . . ."

Support for Kodak

Embattled Eastman Kodak Co. of Rochester, N.Y., which has been under the relentless fire of the Saul Alinsky-inspired radical civil rights group, FIGHT, for alleged unfairness to Negroes (see *Human Events,* May 13, 1967, page 8), has received some strong backing from a surprise source: the Xerox Corp. and its liberal chairman, Joseph C. Wilson.

ALINSKY

Xerox Corp. executives have been considered ultra-liberals, partly because the company two years ago sponsored a series of television programs that heaped adoring praise upon the United Nations. Many of the firm's executives have also been in the forefront of those championing civil rights radicals. Thus, Chairman Wilson's outspoken praise of Kodak at Xerox's recent annual stockholders' meeting was something of a shock.

Recalling that he had grown up in Rochester, near Kodak's Park Works, Wilson said "ever since I have been old enough to understand industrial labor policies Kodak has been the source of some of the most enlightened I know."

He said the film and chemical company was among the first companies to institute a profit-sharing plan and a retirement system for employes. "I think," he added, "many of us who have lived in Rochester all our lives probably have a philosophy that's an imitation of their philosophy."

Xerox, said Wilson, has worked closely with FIGHT for a number of years to help Negroes get employment. It has also worked with the Urban League and the New York State Employment Service. "But others—and particularly Kodak—have been doing the same things," he stressed. (FIGHT now wants to force Kodak to hire and train at least 600 Negroes of FIGHT's choosing.)

Wilson's remarks were all the more astounding because they came immediately after Rev. Herbert C. Shankle, vice president of FIGHT, read a telegram complimenting Xerox on its relations with Rochester's Negroes.

Lippmann's Leaving Unlamented

Pundit Walter Lippmann, who has just left his home in America to live out his years in anti-American France, isn't being missed in Washington these days. Lippmann had fallen into such disrespect among his colleagues in recent years that even liberal Howard K. Smith, a former Lippmannite himself, decided to salute the columnist's exit from these shores with a few barbed observations.

LIPPMANN

While still hailing Lippmann's style, Smith dissected the substance and found that "The remarkable thing about Lippmann's wrong guesses is their dogged consistency down to the latest day." Lippmann was not exactly a hawk as far as Nazi Germany was concerned, said Smith, and he bristled at the Truman Doctrine which called for containing the expansion of Soviet Russia. In the Cuban missile crisis, Smith revealed, "he hastened to propose concessions to Russia that Khrushchev had not even dared demand." Had we "heeded the advice" of Lippmann, Smith related, "any one of three generations of tyrants might have had an easier time—Hitler, then Stalin and now Mao and Ho."

• *Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly, recently defeated in a bitter contest for president of the National Federation of Republican Women, has abandoned any plans to form a separate women's federation for conservatives, even though she still blames her May 6 defeat on what she calls illegal Maneuvers by the liberals. Mrs. Schlafly is telling friends that she believes the overriding objective of conservatives "is to nominate and elect the right kind of president in 1968, who can lead America in these perilous times. Our side has a clear majority in the federation. It does not make sense to abandon the fruits of our labors to the noisy liberals."*

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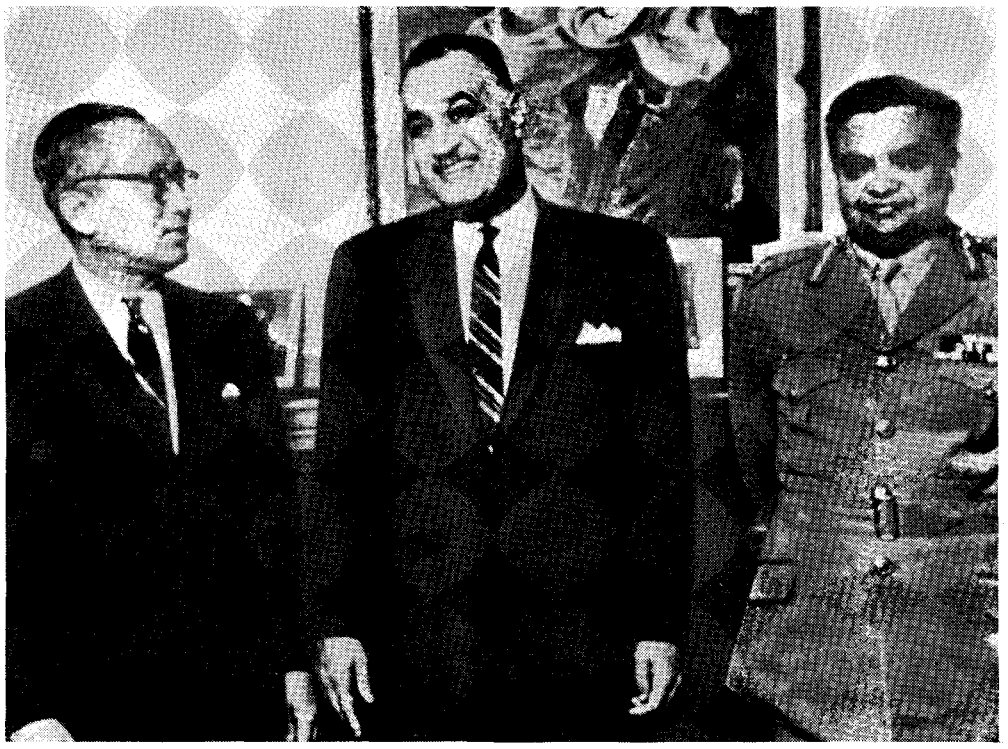

U.N. Secretary General U Thant, left, poses with Egyptain President Gamal Abdel Nasser and Gen. Indar Jit Rikhye, commander of the U.N. emergency forces which left the border areas at Nasser's command.

Has U.S. Been Hoodwinked By a Coordinated Red Plot?

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

While the State Department pathetically appeals to the Soviet Union to help calm the very troubles in the Middle East which that country has largely created, informed Americans are becoming uneasy.

My recent criticism of our policy of bridge-building to the Soviet swamp just when the Kremlin is launching its latest campaign to destroy us evoked the following letter from a long-time student of world affairs:

"Yes, the storm signals are up. The Russians have decided to force the issue. Not to atomic war, but to everything short of it. They have Cuba fortified. They have the Near East a near prey. They have our natural NATO allies nearly all turned against us. So why not try it on? Wipe out Israel? How can we stop it? We are deeply engaged in Viet Nam. And the Russians have just summoned our fleet to get out of the Mediterranean.

"Our first course after the war should have been to come to terms with de Gaulle and France, because that country is the key to any consistent policy in Western Europe. And Western Europe is far more vital to us than Asia.

"We gave China to the Communists.

"We compromised on Korea, which we were pledged to reunite. In Indochina we let down the French whom Dulles had promised to support. We make Britain our favorite ally and take its bad advice on almost everything.

"We should have kicked Castro out of Cuba. Everybody would have understood that.

"I do not believe that all this is accidental. I think it is cleverly coordinated: the 'no win' war, the sloppy sentimentality over the Russians, the freedom granted to Communists, our deadliest enemies, to operate against us as they wish, and our general inability to see what is being done to us.

"You are on the firing line now. May you still have a few rounds left!"

Comment may be superfluous. Yet where my correspondent sees our mistakes as part of a carefully coordinated plan, to me they are the result of the same wishful thinking about the Soviet Union which led FDR during the war to count on Stalin as a post-war partner; which led the sturdy Truman first to shackle and then to fire MacArthur; which induced the gullible Eisenhower to do nothing to help the revolting Hungarians and invite Mr. K. to visit the United States; and which finally misled the hesitant Kennedy into believing that "basically" the Russians want what we want and will eventually cooperate with us even against Communist China.

Now all these chickens are coming home to roost and revealing a dangerous mess.

My hope is that Lyndon Baines Johnson, a President closer to Truman than to the others I mentioned, will realize the folly of further seeking with our enemy and switch to a policy of reuniting our natural allies in Europe and Asia against that enemy.

But before he can do this he will have to eliminate from the circle of his advisers those pugwashed individuals responsible for Kennedy's disastrous shift after the missile crisis.

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IN WASHINGTON on Capitol Hill, after one of those late-night, do-nothing Crime Commission meetings, one of LBJ's appointees left the building and asked a passer-by, "How far to the nearest bus stop?" The passer-by answered, "I don't know. Nobody's ever made it!"

The U.N. Runs from Trouble

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Secretary-General U Thant bowed quickly to the demand of Egypt's President Nasser and pulled the United Nations "peacekeeping" force out of the Gaza Strip on the Israeli border so that Nasser could move his heavily armed troops in.

War in the Middle East therefore seems more imminent than it has at any time since the Israeli invasion of the Sinai Peninsula, backed by Britain and France, in 1956.

At that time, when the threat of invasion was from Israel, Nasser readily agreed to the intervention of the United Nations and the establishment of the 3,400-man peacekeeping force. Today the shoe is on the other foot. Egypt and Syria, its intermittent partner in the United Arab Republic, have strengthened their forces with Soviet arms. They have, in effect, become military satellites of the Soviet Union.

With Communist support, Nasser seems to have persuaded himself that a showdown with Israel—including war if it should come to that—can do what he has been unable to do peacefully: unite the Arab world under his leadership and dislodge the governments of Jordan and Saudi Arabia, which have resisted him with encouragement from the West.

Why did Secretary General U Thant remove the U.N. peace-keeping force so quickly?

Success would give control of the entire Middle East to Nasser, and indirectly, or perhaps not so indirectly, to the Russians, who have already arranged for a submarine base in Syria, have built a port in Yemen, and are ready to move into Aden as soon as the British move out.

Control of the Middle East would not only give them access to its enormous oil supplies, but would also give them direct access to the heart of Africa, where they could be counted on to stir up trouble.

"That bear-pit of international rivalries, ambitions, social strivings and marathon dialogues, the United Nations, has come to the end of its usefulness as a peace-keeping operation. When Secretary-General U Thant, acting unilaterally and, therefore, improperly, yielded to Nasser's order to get out of the Gaza Strip, he destroyed the last vestige of the U.N.'s raison d'etre."**—Columnist Irene Corbally Kuhn**

If war should break out, the United States would face the unhappy choice of losing the Middle East by default or losing it by taking sides against the Arabs. If ever the United Nations could be of service to us and to peace, it is right now.

So what happens? U Thant meekly bows out without explaining why the U. N. couldn't simply cross the border and take up a position on the Israeli side. The United Nations pulls out because the Egyptian government asked it to; yet it keeps talking about using force to meddle in South Africa and Rhodesia against the will of those governments.

Once again the U. N. has proved itself a Johnny-on-the-spot when it can be of service to communism and a bundle of flabby excuses when it can be of service to freedom.

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GOP DOVES—Five GOP senators recently called for curtailing the scope of bombing attacks on North Viet Nam. The dove-ish Republicans are: John Sherman Cooper (Ky.), George Aiken (Vt.), Frank Carlson (Kan.), Thruston Morton (Ky.) and Milton Young (N.D.). Carlson, Morton, Aiken and Young are all up for re-election in 1968.

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"A YUGOSLAV AUTHOR has gone to prison for criticizing communism. Under Tito you can write anything you like—but you'd better not publish it." —By Jack Wilson in the Detroit *Free Press*

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Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith is flanked by the leader of the opposition party, C. Chipunza, at ceremonies opening Parliament. Although Rhodesia is firmly anti-Communist, Americans wishing to engage in innocuous trade are harassed by the U.S. government.

Russia, *Si*—Rhodesia, No

Administration double standard on trade

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

There is some shock in certain quarters of Washington because CEASE, the Committee to End Aid to the Soviet Enemy (See *Human Events*, May 13, 1967, page 3), did not succumb to the frowns of the State Department and the Liberal Establishment. Washington newspapers gave the new committee almost no mention, possibly on the theory that it would disappear if ignored. But the need for CEASE continues to grow, and with it the support of many Americans.

Just how great that need is can be measured daily in Washington. At every hand, there are pressures from the Administration for "building bridges" to the Communist world. Unlike the road to Hell, the road to Moscow, when the Establishment builds it, is paved with American dollars. The State Department, with its bland assumption that only tanks and guns are of strategic importance to the Soviet war effort, argues that sending other goods and equipment will lead to peace on earth.

On the other hand, the Administration feels that buying ash trays from Rhodesia is a warlike act that threatens the safety and security of the United States. If this seems like an exaggeration, the facts are there to substantiate the charge.

Ironically, America's anti-Rhodesian policy is in moral—if not legal—violation of the United Nations Charter. No amount of quibbling can obscure the fact that the U.N. action against Rhodesia, which the United States so passionately supports, is an attempt at interfering in the internal affairs of a country which in no way threatens the rest of the world.

But the United States has gone far beyond the terms of the sanctions against Rhodesia as promulgated by the U.N. and the Socialist government of Great Britain. Those sanctions consisted of an embargo on certain products grown and processed in Rhodesia, and in preventing the Rhodesian people from buying on the so-called free market oil and other industrial necessities.

Now comes the Treasury Department to threaten and harass American citizens who, in strict compliance with the Executive Order on Rhodesia, have continued their association with the people of that country. I cite the case of Robert L. Wyckoff, a Highland, Calif., attorney, who imported goods not on the sanctions list into the United States.

On May 4 a Treasury representative appeared at Mr. Wyckoff's door and announced that they had orders to seize the Rhodesian knickknacks imported from Rhodesia. He also ordered Mr. Wyckoff to turn over all his books for examination. When his authority was questioned, the Treasury man insisted that he be given access since, to use his words, the courts had ruled that business records are "quasi-public and not covered by the 15th Amendment."

The Treasury man further threatened Mr. Wyckoff with "trouble" if he did not comply with the demand. He also asserted that to buy goods not on the sanction list from a firm in South Africa owned by a Rhodesian businessman was also in violation of the Executive Order because that firm was "too closely identified with Rhodesia." Repeatedly, the Treasury man consulted Washington by long distance phone and was given authority to continue in his harassment.

"It was a terribly frightening experience," Mr. Wyckoff says, "to know that the President can sign an order, without the approval of Congress, under which I could go to jail for 10 years—the order being interpreted by his political appointees with obvious intention to create as much hardship as possible for me and leaving me without the protection of the courts. If similar efforts were made to control those promoting the Russians, one would feel better about it."

This, of course, is the crux of the situation. Rhodesia, though minding her own business and seeking earnestly to find an equitable solution to its race problems, is the enemy of the Liberal Establishment for being—among other things—anti-Communist. The Soviet Union, pledged to bury the United States and supplying the Viet Communists with weapons to kill Americans, is the object of tender, loving kindness.

Americans understand this, and they are sending their $5, $10, and $20-dollar checks to CEASE (1061 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20004). They are demonstrating that the so-called common man in this country is uncommonly brighter than his government.

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NLRB Bans His Book

Is Bobby Kennedy Anti-Union?

Probably not too many people have ever thought of Bobby Kennedy as a union buster, but that is more or less what the National Labor Relations Board decided in ruling on a recent organizational dispute. The controversy arose when the Teamsters Union lost a NLRB-governed election to decide bargaining rights for 14 wire weavers at the Sinclair Co., Holyoke, Mass.

Teamsters representatives had initially collected cards from 11 of the employes authorizing the union to bargain in their behalf, but when confronted with these documents the company demanded, and received from the NLRB, authority to hold a secret election among the employes. When the Teamsters lost this election, 7 to 6, its leaders filed the usual charges of company interference and asked the NLRB to arbitrate.

One of the Sinclair Co.'s alleged "interferences" which most irked the union was the fact that it had sent each employe a copy of Sen. Kennedy's book, *The Enemy Within*, urging the recipients to "take the time to read it." Kennedy's book (which William Manchester had *nothing* to do with) is simply a recounting of his experiences as chief counsel to the select Senate committee, headed by Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.) which investigated racketeering in organized labor. One of the unions examined happened to be Jimmy Hoffa's mammoth Teamsters.

Giving employes copies of a book by Bobby Kennedy on his experience investigating union racketeering was declared an unfair labor practice.

The NLRB found nothing wrong with Sinclair's individual communications with employes during the election, including the book and accompanying letter, but it ruled that the "totality" of the letters and speeches made and sent by the company coerced the employes and prevented a fair election.

The board also placed Kennedy's book on its list of publications which employers must not show to employes because of their so-called "anti-union" coloring. (Other items on this list include the film "And Women Must Weep," depicting union-perpetrated strike violence; another film, "A Question of Law and Order," showing more strike violence and scenes from Senate investigations of these outbreaks; and the book, *Power Unlimited—the Corruption of Union Leadership*, by Prof. Sylvester Petro, a report on the McClellan racketeering hearings.)

Aside from placing the idol of liberals, Bobby Kennedy, in the category of union buster, the NLRB's ruling has the effect of forcing the Sinclair Co. to bargain with the Teamsters (on the basis of the authorization cards). Thus organized labor has moved into another plant where the employes—in secret ballot—had rejected labor representation.

Perhaps what the union had objected to most in the Kennedy book was not the sordid story of Teamsters' corruption, but the quote from Thomas Jefferson which RFK used on his title page:

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

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PERCY'S VIET NAM STAND—It is considered a violation of congressional protocol for a congressman or senator to criticize a fellow member from his home state. But Rep. Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill.) was so incensed by the dovish views of Sen. Charles Percy that he took to the House floor to chide his GOP colleague. Urging Percy to "review his Viet Nam position," Derwinski said, "Logic dictates that those critics of increased bombing of the north should welcome the move to place pacification activities in the hands of our military, since success in this field would be a major step in terminating the war."

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SEN. GEORGE SMATHERS (D.-Fla.) recently rebuked the Administration for its "do-nothing" attitude toward Castro Cuba. The influential Floridian, a member of the Senate Democratic leadership, said that "Cuba has become the launching point for campaigns of terror and subversion that can no longer be explained away or ignored." Smathers urged the government take the lead in applying economic sanctions to those free world nations that persist in trading with Havana.

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POST OFFICE WASTE—Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) has charged that the federal government is pouring "millions of dollars down a rat hole" by leasing U.S. post offices from private owners instead of building them. Williams cited a General Accounting Office report that for just four post offices—in Detroit, Cincinnati, Harrisburg, Pa., Toledo, Ohio—the government will spend $62 million more on 30-year leasing arrangements with private owners than it would have cost to build them. Altogether, Williams said, there are 287 post offices, each of which cost more than $250,000 to build, on which the government is losing money by leasing arrangements.

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Unless Policies Change

U.S. Will Need One Million Troops in Viet Nam

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

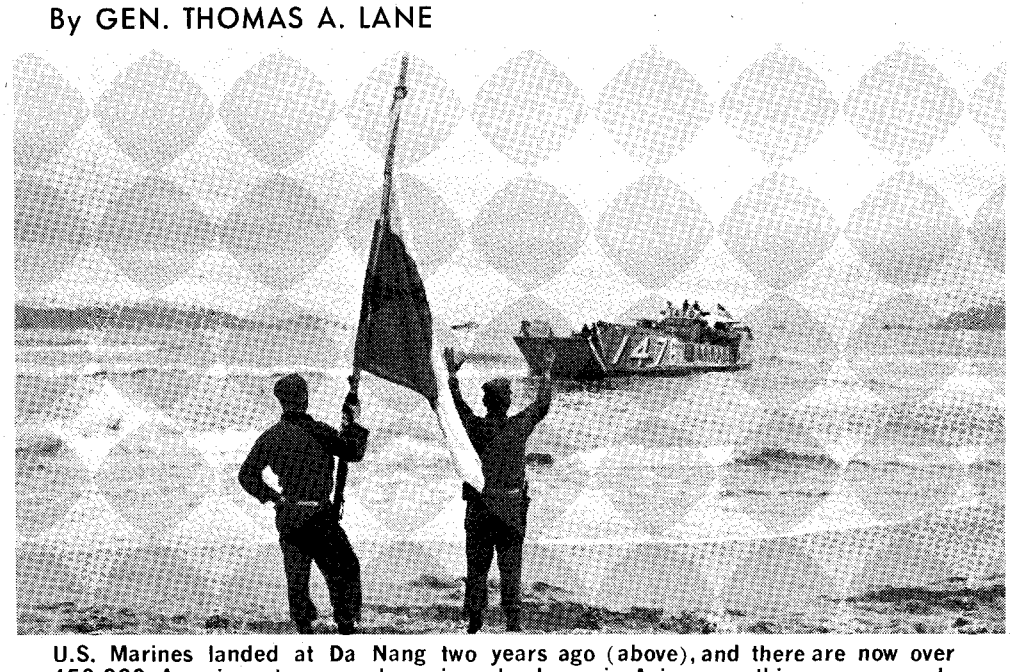
It is tragic to observe the passive resignation with which American political leaders accept the necessity for increasing our manpower in Viet Nam. They are completely baffled by the situation confronting them.

They know that our forces in Viet Nam must be supported and strengthened as necessary, but they can't see any rationally predictable end to the escalation. Every increment seems necessary, but who can see where it will all lead?

We have had six years of this escalation. At first it was just an increase in combat support for the South Vietnamese. Then there was talk of committing 75,000 U.S. combat troops. Since 1965 there has been a steady increase of our ground combat commitment. No matter how many we send, we always need more.

Will it be a million next year? Who knows where the escalation will stop? Not our leaders! They are embarked on a policy of piecemealing our forces. Only a radical change of policy can recover control of the war for our side.

Peacenik attacks on the Administration have obscured the fact that U.S. escalation has been defensive. It has never had a purpose of winning the war.



U.S. Marines landed at Da Nang two years ago (above), and there are now over 450,000 American troops ashore in a land war in Asia—something our generals have argued against for years.

It has sought only to prevent North Viet Nam from winning a decisive victory.

Ho Chi Minh has controlled the escalation. Six years ago Viet Cong strength in South Viet Nam was estimated at 30,000. Today it has risen to about 270,000. The proportional increase in the Viet Cong far exceeds the increase of U.S. and South Vietnamese forces. The advantage of our side has decreased from about 10 to 1 in 1961 to 4 to 1 today.

Under the present terms of warfare, Ho Chi Minh can further enlarge his commitment and force a continuing expansion of U.S. forces in South Viet Nam. Ho controls the war.

This enlargement of the North Viet Nam commitment cannot be deterred by U.S. airpower. We can punish North Viet Nam, destroy its sophisticated facilities, force it back to more primitive logistic measures—but we can't stop the war. The experience of Korea, where the enemy maintained a million men on the line of battle, with communications through 200 miles of open country exposed to our attack, defined the limits of air interdiction.

Ho can continue the war under these conditions. With ground sanctuary in Laos, Cambodia and North Viet Nam, he has every incentive to do so.

This is the paradox. Our illusion that we can win the war with air and sea power is the cause of an escalating commitment of ground forces. Our fear of a "land war in Asia" is bogging us down in a land war in Asia. The measures available to bring this war to an early conclusion are dismissed from serious consideration because the political preconceptions of our leaders have foreclosed them.

All the world stands aghast at the tragic impotence of U.S. leadership. Who among our allies can have confidence that the United States could withstand a serious push from the Soviet Union when it is so baffled and bloodied by tiny North Viet Nam?

We are arrested not by any power of the enemy but by the intellectual paralysis of our leaders. Our debility is spiritual.

It is folly to talk of increasing our commitment of combat troops to Viet Nam when we now have on the ground all the resources required to defeat the aggressor. Why should we supply more troops to a President who persistently refuses to employ the power already available? Why don't we change *his* mind?

If this is a civil war, as apologists for Hanoi claim, why don't we help South Viet Nam to win it and unify the country in freedom? Because we have denied that purpose in South Viet Nam, Ho Chi Minh rests secure in his aggression.

With a change of strategy, this war could be ended quickly and our men could be brought home. Alas, there is no sign that our leaders are equal to the challenge. The prospect is for continuing escalation. We can expect a commitment of one million Americans to the war by this time next year.

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"THE STATE OF ALASKA thought it would carry an advertisement in the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* to publicize a centennial. The ad read, 'Come to the Alaska centennial and see what you sold for $7.2 million.' *Pravda* wanted $56 an inch for the advertisement. Alaska said forget it."—By Rep. Robert B. Denney (R.-Neb.)

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GOVERNMENTESE—"Bureaucratic jargon gains an addition: 'Outplace,' meaning simply to fire a government employe."—From the *Wall Street Journal*

'I Didn't Want to Die...'

Walking across the rice paddies of Viet Nam toward a mountain range, the young American soldier commented to a buddy: "How quiet and deserted it is—not even the birds are singing."

Suddenly, the fire from automatic rifles seemed to come from every bush. The young man tried to save the life of his buddy by grabbing him and pulling him into the bushes to safety. He never saw the rifle the enemy fired at him point-blank from a few paces away.

A month after the youngster's death, one of the buddies found a letter under his bunk—a letter written while he was still alive in which he anticipated his death. His commanding officer mailed it to the soldier's parents in Graham, N.C. What follows is the text of that letter—which this year received the Freedoms Foundation's highest honor—as Pfc. Hiram D. Strickland's father and mother read it for the first time, some 30 days after he was buried.

Dear Folks,

I'm writing this letter as my last one. You've probably already received word that I'm dead and that the government wishes to express its deepest regret.

Believe me, I didn't want to die, but I know it was part of my job. I want my country to live for billions and billions of years to come.

I want it to stand as a light to all people oppressed and guide them to the same freedom we know. If we can stand and fight for freedom, then I think we have done the job God set down for us. It's up to every American to fight for the freedom we hold so dear. If we don't, the smells of free air could become dark and damp as in a prison cell.

We won't be able to look at ourselves in a mirror, much less at our sons and daughters, because we know we have failed our God, our country, and our future generations.

I can hold my head high because I fought, whether it be in heaven or hell. Besides, the saying goes, "One more GI from Viet Nam, St. Peter, I've served my time in hell."

I fought for Sandy, Nell, Gale, Mom and Dad. But when the twins and Sandy's kids get old enough, they'll probably have to fight, too. Tell them to go proudly and without fear of death because it is worth keeping the land free.

I remember a story from Mr. Williams' English classes, when I was a freshman, that said, "The cowards die a thousand times, the brave die but once."

Don't mourn me, mother, for I'm happy I died fighting my country's enemies, and I will live forever in people's minds. I've done what I've always dreamed of. Don't mourn me, for I died a soldier of the United States of America.

God bless you all and take care. I'll be seeing you in heaven.

Your loving son and brother,
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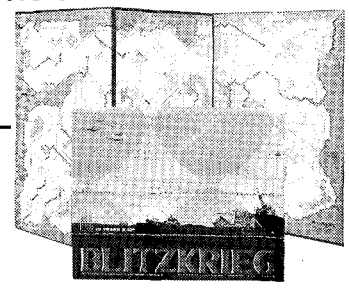

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Why Isn't the Peace Corps Working in South Viet Nam?

By MICHAEL PADEV in the Indianapolis *Star*

"I'll tell you why they are not here—they're chicken, that's why," the G.I. said in disgust. Another G.I. added: "They're supposed to be experts in reconstruction work, teachers, social workers, medics and all that. They are badly needed here, so why don't they come?" But a third GI disagreed. "We don't need them," he said. "They might organize peace demonstrations!"

Others soon joined our group and the conversation got very agitated. The place? Da Nang—the northernmost part of South Viet Nam, known to the military as "I Zone." Participants in the conversation? About half-a-dozen Marines and three newsmen, including myself. Time? Six months ago. Subject of conversation? The Peace Corps, or rather, the lack of it in South Viet Nam.

I don't remember who started the talk about the Peace Corps, but I'll never forget the sarcastic bitterness with which the GIs spoke. I myself kept silent as I did not want to show my ignorance—I simply did not know that the Peace Corps did not operate in Viet Nam. And I couldn't imagine why not.

A few days later, back in Saigon, I started asking U.S. officials what they thought about it. I did not make myself very popular. Most of them tried to change the subject. But I persisted and I got very different—and most unsatisfactory—answers.

"It's too dangerous for those young kids," one official said. But that's hardly an argument. The average GI fighting in Viet Nam is much younger than the average Peace Corps volunteer. Another official, asking not to be quoted, said: "For God's sake, don't write anything on the subject! If the President asked the Peace Corps to come to Viet Nam there wouldn't be any Peace Corps left—They will all resign! They are against the war, don't you know? Better forget all about it."

But I couldn't forget all about it. Back in Washington I kept asking Peace Corps volunteers and officials I know: "Why doesn't the Peace Corps work in Viet Nam? Are you scared to go? Are you ashamed to associate with U.S.policy in Viet Nam? Don't you realize that our soldiers there resent your attitude? Don't you care what our soldiers say?"

A very important Peace Corps VIP gave me this explanation: Peace Corps volunteers are not sent to South Viet Nam, he said, because the South Vietnamese government has not asked for them, and it is not the practice of the Peace Corps to send volunteers to countries which have not specifically asked for them. But that turned out to be—not quite true.

South Viet Nam hasn't asked officially for Peace Corps volunteers for the simple reason that the U.S. government has asked South Viet Nam not to ask for such volunteers! The fact is that South

The Peace Corps claims the South Vietnamese government does not want help from any American corpsmen. Already working in South Viet Nam, however, by invitation from the South Vietnamese government and under contract to the U.S. Agency for International Development, are many volunteer workers belonging to the International Volunteer Service, a private, non-profit organization. Above, IVS worker Chuck Simmons is shown helping distribute fertilizer for a program in Quang Tri.

Viet Nam would welcome most foreign help in this field. Many volunteers from other friendly states are helping the South Vietnamese in the kind of work the U.S. Peace Corps is supposed to do.

Finally, after talking to several other Peace Corps VIPs, I got another answer. Those in charge of the Peace Corps do not want its volunteers to go to Viet Nam because they are afraid that such work might damage "the international image" which the Peace Corps is said to have. The Peace Corps, I was assured, is associated in the minds of foreigners with "peaceful work." Peace Corps activities in Viet Nam might give Peace Corps volunteers a "warlike" image.

But this argument doesn't make any sense either. There are a lot of peaceful and very peace-loving U.S. agencies and organizations, public and private, which operate in South Viet Nam today and are not afraid that their "international image" might be damaged. Peace Corps teachers, doctors, hospital specialists and agricultural workers can do a lot of useful and completely "peaceful" work in South Viet Nam. Why, then, are Peace Corps volunteers not allowed to go to South Viet Nam? Why?

The Peace Corps is a public agency, supported by taxpayers' money, and the public has a right to know the right answer.

Findings on Western Tour:

Strike Jitters Causing Public to Look to Reagan

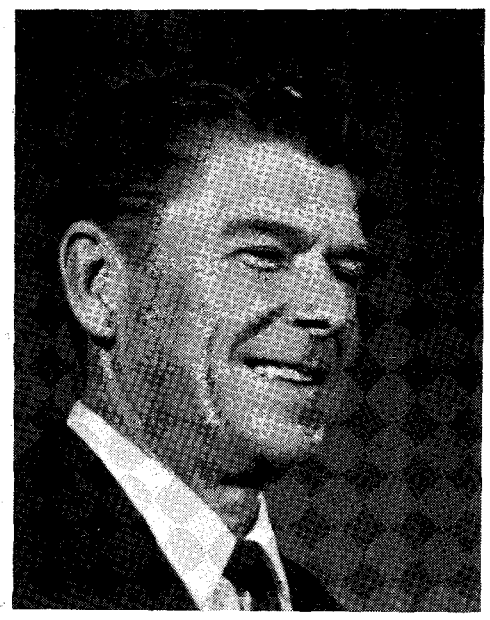
By VICTOR RIESEL

San Antonio:—The closer one gets to political insides in the West and Southwest, the more one hears that Lyndon Johnson will not run for President in '68—and that Ronald Reagan will.

The more one asks why, the more one is told the answer is not in the war on the Asian front, but in the labor wars, the wars in the big cities, and the coming war on the wide open spaces—on the citrus ranches, the fruit groves and the vast vegetable fields ranging from central California to western Florida.

Labor leaders in the 60 national headquarters in Washington and in their 25 home offices in New York may not realize it, but they have given the rest of the country the jitters. And much of the nation is heaving the responsibility for these strike jitters right on Lyndon Johnson's aching and burdened shoulders. Everywhere they are saying it may be too much for him politically.

And in the West and Southwest the objective journeyman notes that the people—the public—talk glowingly of their man "in the white hat," Gov. Ronnie Reagan. They are concerned over Viet Nam. But there's little they can do about it. However, they feel they can do something about airline strikes, rail strikes, threatened warehouse strikes, aerospace strikes, auto strikes and, to many of the men of influence, what is worse, the grape and melon and citrus strikes.



Gov. Ronald Reagan is pushing a bill calling for a secret rank-and-file vote on almost all union activities.

And they feel that Reagan will lead them out of this industrial and agricultural wilderness. They follow Reagan's career so closely they can reel off any section of the governor's program. For the visitor from the Northeast they point to Reagan's labor program which has gone virtually unnoticed up yonder.

Reagan is pushing state legislation which would police the two-million-member California labor movement. His weapon is the secret ballot. Strangely, this has gone unnoticed outside of California—so much so it hasn't even been attacked east of the Great Divide.

Reagan's proposed laws call for a rank-and-file secret vote on virtually all union activities. He has said that out of his experience as a six-term president of the AFL-CIO Screen Actors Guild, this is just what labor needs.

He would legislate so that the membership would have the right to vote secretly on whether the union should go in for political activity. If so, for which candidate? How much should be spent? How should the campaign go? etc.

And the secret ballot would determine whether a union should initiate collective bargaining.

Or whether it should strike. If so, should it picket?

Or, does the rank and file think certain expenditures—not in the ordinary course of union business—are proper?

And should the union start a pension and welfare fund? If so, how should it be administered? And if it is undesirable, should it be dissolved, and in what fashion?

There should be a secret ballot to determine rules of internal union discipline. This could deprive the union leadership and executive boards of the right to punish members or act against the opposition.

Reagan also has some hard thoughts on the private financial ties of labor leaders. The governor believes that union officers and agents shall not acquire any financial interests which interfere with the faithful performance of their responsibility to the labor organization. This is a tough section. The proposals would prevent labor leaders from acquiring assets "which tend" to interfere with their fiduciary relationship to the union.

And then there is Reagan's attitude towards the hottest issue on labor's front burners—the coming farm labor organizing campaigns. The governor—and he is listened to as carefully here in Texas as in his home state—says he is for collective bargaining and strikes and a living wage for all. But, says he, no farm union would be able to call *huelga* (strike) or in any fashion prevent the harvesting of crops. Well, if the pickers and sorters and packers can't strike when the produce must be taken from the earth or it will rot, the right to strike means little.

This was dramatically voiced recently over in Rio Grande City, some 215 miles from here, by a member of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, who said:

"We'll decide at what point we can hurt them [the melon and cantaloupe growers] the most and move at that point."

That was the union's vice president, Gilbert Padilla. But for the millions in the West and Southwest, he reflected all the thunder coming out of the East. Rightly or wrongly, they blame Lyndon Johnson. It is a mood with which the nation should familiarize itself. It may make history.

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STANDBY VOLUNTEERS—"If President Johnson and Sen. Bobby Kennedy need any help in the name-calling department, we understand there are some volunteers who will help. Either one."
—From the *Anniston Star*

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Soaring Expenses, Crowded Hospitals Mark Medicare's First Year

How goes Medicare after its first year in operation?

The *Saturday Evening Post's* medical editor, Steven M. Spencer, has given the program an exhaustive scrutiny—and found it seriously wanting. Though basically sympathetic to Medicare, Spencer is forced to concede that the program "is not quite the glorious success its sponsors promised. . . ." Indeed, that would seem to be a vast understatement judging from the facts he, himself, brings out.

Spencer acknowledges that the costs are staggering and are "greatly exceeding" some earlier forecasts. In its first nine months, Medicare paid $1.6 billion in hospital bills for more than three million persons and some nine million doctor bills totalling $346 million.

Former Surgeon General Luther Terry admits many older people were getting good medical care even prior to Medicare.

Nursing-home care has been covered only since January 1, "but this and a growing demand for all services will make Medicare's second full year of operation far bigger than its first." President Johnson's budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1 calls for $3.9 billion for the program—some $446 million more than it is expected to cost this year.

A major reason for the soaring expenses is the mounting paperwork which is clogging the Medicare machinery.

"If all of us, including the best minds in the health-insurance business, were to sit down for a year and do our best to draw up a complicated system, we couldn't devise one as complex as Medicare," says Fred Higginbotham, a Dallas Blue Cross official.

Medicare's intricate billing procedures are not only extraordinarily cumbersome, but have added millions of dollars to hospital overhead. Manhattan's Mount Sinai, typical of the nation's larger and better hospitals, had to hire 41 new clerks when Medicare began. "This new task force," says Spencer, "is obviously one reason for the startling rise of 16.5 per cent in hospital costs last year, after a 6 per cent yearly rise from 1960 through 1965."

There are other disturbing aspects of Medicare. As of today, says Spencer, the sick are swamping many, if not all, the nation's hospitals and are creating bed shortages in many areas.

"New York's Montefiore Hospital, for example, reports the waiting time for nonemergency cases has increased from two to three weeks a year ago to six to 10 today. Even many persons with 'urgent' though not 'emergency' conditions, such as gall bladder or congestive heart disease, have been subjected to what doctors call medically serious delays."

These delays are often caused by older people who want to remain in the hospital because they want attention or are encouraged to remain by the family. "Before Medicare," Spencer relates, "nearly one third of all hospital care was devoted to patients who were 65 or over, even though they made up only 10 per cent of the population"—an intriguing statistic in light of the pre-Medicare propaganda which suggested old people weren't being taken care of.

Since Medicare, Spencer concludes, there are signs that elderly patients are staying in much longer. A survey of several Roman Catholic hospitals in New York City reveals that senior citizens are now staying twice as long as they did before Medicare was passed.

Another disturbing effect of Medicare is the restraints the program imposes on the training of tomorrow's physicians and surgeons, especially the surgeons.

Traditionally, the ward patient, admitted free or at a reduced rate, was the teaching patient. He knew that his care would largely be in the hands of competent interns and residents who would be supervised by experienced staff members. Today, under Medicare (and its sister, Medicaid) everyone is entitled to choose a private physician and a semi-private room. Thus, the charity patient has all but disappeared.

If every patient insists that all his medical care be administered only by his private physician, says Spencer, interns and residents will get no practical experience. One can only learn to remove a lung or a gall bladder by doing.

Paradoxically, notes Spencer, "old people living on borderline incomes often find that they are now worse off with Medicare than without it."

What puzzles an elderly lady he calls Mrs. Lola Jones and many like her, says Spencer, is that she is now actually paying more a year for insurance than she used to pay for her entire medical bill.

Whereas previously Mrs. Jones might pay a total of $15 to $20 a year for medical expenses because the hospitals and the doctors would charge her very little, even for a serious illness, Medicare won't begin paying hospital expenses until the patient has paid out the first $50.

Furthermore, to receive insurance for doctor's bills, a person must agree to pay the government $3 a month, or $36 a year—more than Mrs. Jones would usually pay for her yearly medical bill. On top of this, Mrs. Jones cannot collect any money to pay for her doctor's bill until she has also paid out the first $50 toward this bill.

While Spencer doesn't say it in so many words, he indirectly points out that federally financed Medicare is not necessarily doing something new for people—instead, it is getting the credit for what private insurance programs like Blue Cross and Blue Shield used to do. With Medicare in existence, the "Blues" have been cancelling subscribers' policies as they reach the Medicare eligibility age.

One Blue Cross spokesman admitted that cancellation of policies was saving the organization about $150 million a year in payments. "We were already making significant subsidies to the older subscribers out of receipts for those under 65," he insisted.

Spencer suggests that not all of Medicare is bad and that "on the whole, older people of slender means are now receiving more services under Medicare because there is now more money to do things for them."

But he also admits that it is hard to determine how many previously unmet needs Medicare is now fulfilling.

Certainly the aged suffered more medical neglect in some areas of the country than in others, but bringing in Medicare is not as if some 19 million persons needing care were suddenly getting treatment, observes Dr. Luther Terry, former surgeon general of the U.S. Public Health Service and now medical vice president of the University of Pennsylvania. "Many had been getting good medical attention all along," Dr. Terry told Spencer.

The question that congressmen should now answer is whether saddling the American taxpayer with the costly and cumbersome Medicare machinery was the proper way to take care of those few who might not have been getting good medical attention. The report by the *Post's* medical editor strongly suggests that it wasn't.

Radical Aide on Congressional Payroll

Justice Department Hinders Carmichael Probe

From the Allen-Scott Report

The House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration, investigating Stokely Carmichael's activities, has been unable to get any help from the Justice Department.

A subcommittee request, initiated by Rep. Arch Moore (W. Va.), ranking Republican member, to examine FBI records on Carmichael was turned down.

In a letter to Moore, Director J. Edgar Hoover stated he was under instructions from Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark not to make FBI files on Carmichael available to the committee.

Previously, in testifying before a House Appropriations subcommittee headed by Rep. John Rooney (D.-N.Y.), Hoover did comment on Carmichael, as follows:

"In espousing his philosophy of 'Black Power,' Carmichael has been in frequent contact with Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a highly secret all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist, Chinese-Communist-oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals, and has afforded Stanford assistance and guidance in forming a Black Panther party in New York."

In looking into Carmichael's admittance to the United States, Rep. Moore has been informed that the "Black Power" advocate "became an American citizen in 1953 by derivation after both his parents had been naturalized."

Through this procedure, Carmichael did not have to take an oath to uphold the Constitution, as required of naturalized citizens. He was born June 29, 1941, in Trinidad, West Indies.

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The Senate Internal Security subcommittee is probing Carmichael's activities on college campuses where riots have erupted. Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson, Miss., has told subcommittee members that "several of Carmichael's agitators" appeared on the campus before and during the outbreak of violence there. One of them was Willie Ricks, a top Carmichael aide. Wayne Hays (D.-Ohio), has asked the Justice Department for a report on why no legal action has been started against Carmichael for urging students not to register for the draft.

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One of the most brilliant anti-Viet Nam war agitators has turned up on the congressional payroll.

William Higgs, a former attorney for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a close associate of firebrand Stokely Carmichael, and a leader in organizing and directing stormy protests against congressional committees, is on the payroll of Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D.-Calif.), a member of the Education and Labor Committee.

In addition to staging anti-Viet Nam demonstrations around the country, Higgs was spotted by Capitol police earlier this month with students protesting the draft hearings of the House Armed Services Committee.

Before playing a leading role in the anti-draft agitation, Higgs headed a so-called national committee of student, peace and Communist groups that sought to disrupt hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on Communist influence in anti-Viet Nam demonstrations.

The turbulent operations of Higgs and his anti-Viet Nam war organization were cited by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in testifying before a House Appropriations subcommittee.

"The Committee on Un-American Activities scheduled hearings and subpoenaed several individuals who have been active in protests against U.S. policy in Viet Nam," Hoover said. "Soon thereafter, the National Committee to Defend the Civil Liberties of the anti-war group was formed in Washington, D.C., to organize demonstrations against the hearings.

"The committee was headed by William Higgs, a former attorney for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Among the organizations sponsoring this committee were the Socialist Workers party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Progressive Labor party, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, Students for a Democratic Society and Women Strike for Peace.

"During the hearings, many demonstrators were arrested for causing disturbances."

In recent weeks Higgs is reliably reported to have conferred with Carmichael on the latter's announced plans "to take over Washington, lock, stock and barrel."

The ties between them are reputedly close. Sources acquainted with both describe Higgs as "one of Carmichael's principal braintrusters. Carmichael hardly makes a move without first consulting Higgs."

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Our High Court

Supreme—But Not Always Judicial

By MORRIE RYSKIND

A reader finds I occasionally overstress my case. E.g., "As to the flag-burning during the peace demonstration, surely you realize this was the work of a few and must have been deplored by the vast majority, who love Old Glory as much as you or I."

Granted. But note that not one of the participants in the April 15 march, many of them nationally prominent, made a move to stop the desecration. Not even Mrs. Justice Douglas, who—I quote the Washington *Post*—flew to New York expressly to take part in the parade. Didn't that unanimous silence speak loudly?

Interestingly, shortly afterward the Supreme Court voted, 7 to 2, to let stand the 1964 conviction of 17 demonstrators who had turned a peace rally in New York's Duffy Square into a riot. And one of the two nay votes came from Justice Douglas.

In view of the worldwide publicity given Mrs. Douglas' presence at the April 15 rally, might it not have been more seemly for the Justice to have abstained on this particular issue? Still, I suppose much may be forgiven a bridegroom.

Not that the Warren Court has been a model of judicial propriety. On that terrible day when President Kennedy was assassinated, the Chief Justice, interviewed on TV, jumped to the conclusion that some right-winger was the culprit. In his later Warren Report, he was forced to reverse that opinion.

On May 15 the court apparently took cognizance of the youth movement's cry that teen-agers were not treated as peers by their elders but as second-class citizens. And, in a far-reaching decision, held (8 to 1, Justice Stewart dissenting) juvenile delinquents entitled to the same privileges extended to older law-breakers: the right not to testify against one's self, to be represented by an attorney, and so forth.

Whatever the good intent behind that decision, I deem it absurd to treat teen-agers as adults. It flies in the face of history and plain common sense, even though the young are so certain—weren't we at that age?—they know more than their parents. Don't we all treat the misbehavior of a puppy differently from that of a grown dog?

To quote Justice Stewart, the decision "is wholly unsound as a matter of constitutional law and sadly unwise as a matter of judicial policy."

The very day of the court's ruling a minority group of San Francisco teen-agers demonstrated in Hunters Point. They stoned passing cars; smashed the windows of a jewelry store and took $25,000 worth of diamond rings from it; threw Molotov cocktails that set a lumber company afire; beat up a clerk in a liquor store and helped themselves to his stock.

Whom do you blame, the kids or the older delinquents who have been preaching their "rights" to them?

Goodness knows, the kids of today are practically lousy with "rights" as it is. Give them any more—with Supreme Court blessing—and we'll have to ring down the curtain 'til somebody pours some sense into the show.

The schools will feel the effect of the decision as much as the police. What teacher will dare ask, "Did you throw that ink-bottle at me?" or "Who discovered America?" when a lad can reply, "I refuse to answer on the grounds that it might incriminate me"?

And at home, when Dad asks, "What time did you get in last night?" Junior will say, "I ain't talkin' without my lawyer."

In the old days, Dad might have whipped off his belt and applied 20 lashes. But now such parental brutality is ended. Junior would show the cruel marks to an attorney, and any confession thus obtained would be invalidated. Indeed, Dad might go to jail.

Of course, that's a *reductio ad absurdum*—but not too far out. Not long ago, four of us sat helplessly for over an hour in a car on Sunset Strip, normally five minutes from my house, while a horde of rootin', tootin' teen-agers held up traffic, almost upset a bus, and remonstrated with the police.

And the next day my paper told me that an attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union was watching to make sure the kids' rights were protected!

So, gentlemen of the Supreme Court, have a heart, will you, fellers?

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PROPOSED BUDGET CUTS—Budget cuts of $5.4 billion were urged recently by the highly respected Council of State Chambers of Commerce. Research director Eugene F. Rinta said that substantial economies would "make unnecessary the President's proposal for a tax increase," and suggested the following reductions in the President's budget: Office of Economic Opportunity, $504 million; aid to education, $463 million; National Institutes of Health, $187 million; urban renewal, $250 million; demonstration cities, $400 million; and metropolitan development incentive grants, $30 million.

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Ma Szu-Tsung, center, the Chinese musician who defected last December, holds a news conference in New York where he described the trials of life under Mao Tse-tung.

U.S. Intelligence Intrigued

Defector Tells Strange Story About Peking's Nuclear Test

From the Allen-Scott Report

One of Communist China's leading musicians, who defected to the West several months ago, is telling a story as eerie as the sound of some of the oriental music he plays.

He is Ma Szu-Tsung, China's foremost violinist and director of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the Chinese-Indonesian Friendship Association, the China-Latin American Friendship Association, and vice president of the China-East Germany Friendship Association.

His tale of international intrigue is about Peking's nuclear capability and how it was acquired.

Ma's story, if true, is one of the most extraordinary to come out of China since Mao Tse-tung launched his cultural revolution and wall posters became a key source of news from that strife-torn country.

Ma's tale is costing U.S. intelligence hundreds of thousands of dollars in worldwide efforts to check its validity. As told by Ma, the story is as follows:

In addition to being a leading musician, Ma was entrusted by Peking with a number of important political tasks until he came under fire on charges of favoring unorthodox music.

Ma's political activities as well as his concerts brought him in close contact with Communist officials in both China and Russia. During visits to Peking, at social gatherings with leading authorities, he overheard conversations in which, according to Ma, they boasted that the West was being hoodwinked regarding China's nuclear capability.

In one discussion, Ma claims, he heard that all of China's five nuclear devices that had been tested had come from France and had not been produced in China.

After Ma told this tale to former Rep. Walter Judd (R.-Minn.), he relayed it to Secretary Rusk when they met at the White House dinner for Nationalist Vice President Yen.

To Judd's surprise the secretary of state replied: "We are getting reports of the same story from Europe. It is being carefully looked into."

Judd has repeated the story to former colleagues in the House, who are now trying to get intelligence agencies to confirm or refute it.

The Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, which is making an intense study of Peking's nuclear capability, has asked its staff to report on Ma's fantastic tale.

Committee sources say that no witness, including Secretary Rusk, has yet mentioned the alleged Paris-Peking nuclear alliance.

Ma's activities since his defection are as strange as his story.

Administration insiders report the musician has refused to cooperate with either the FBI or CIA to appear before congressional committees. His refusals reputedly are based on the contention that he defected for "artistic" rather than "political" reasons.

CIA files contain some interesting information about Ma.

In 1946 he served both as a professor at Sun Yat-sen University and director of the China Music Institute. After the Communists took power, he was active in a number of cultural and other groups and was director of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. For several years he served as a deputy in the National People's Congress.

Ma also visited Russia on a number of occasions. According to CIA information, Ma was contacted several times during Moscow visits by the Soviet secret police.

In U.S. intelligence circles Ma's defection is still being investigated. His refusal to cooperate with these officials has left them baffled. His amazing story has added to the mystery.

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It is now official.

Despite previous disclaimers, the State Department now admits that wheat purchased in Canada by Russia was shipped directly to Cuba.

The department's latest report on free world and Communist trade with Cuba reveals this. Prepared for the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the document states:

"Communist exports to Cuba in 1966 totaled more than $600 million. Free world exports, including Canadian wheat paid for by the Soviet Union, dropped by one-fourth to $208 million. Shipments of Canadian wheat purchased by Russia continued to Cuba for the third year."

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Hopes to Disrupt Elections

New Red Network Plans Terrorism in Puerto Rico

By VICTOR RIESEL

It may be Puerto Rico and not the big mainland cities which will have a long hot summer. The Vietnamese front may simply move thousands of miles eastward.

A network of dedicated revolutionists, devoted to Peking and Hanoi and somewhat disdainful of Moscow, are believed by federal authorities to be preparing to give the sunny island a dose of terror.

"You've been to Caracas," said one official. "You've had a machine gun poked into your car. You've heard the fusillades. You've noted the damage at U.S.-owned plants and stores. We believe the same type of wild ones are ready to repeat Venezuela in Puerto Rico early this summer to make a mockery of the plebiscite. They're calling for a civil war. They won't get it from the Puerto Ricans. But they'll try to embarrass us and discourage investments and keep people from working."

This plebiscite on Puerto Rico's future is set for July 23, which gives the network of interlocked "Marxist-Leninist" parties enough time to shake the cool from the Commonwealth.

Their target is obvious: Disrupt the people's vote on three propositions—the retention of Commonwealth status; statehood; or an independent nation, which would have to be voted by the Congress here.

Some of the network reaches into the mainland, so there might well be some explosive sounds in some of the Eastern megalopolises as far west as Chicago.

Biggest of the so-called independence movements is one with a representative in Czechoslovakia at the International Union of Students. This headquarters is in Prague and it takes no deep analysis to know of its orientation.

It also has a permanent representative at the Cuban headquarters of the Tricontinental Congress. This was set up in January 1966 to coordinate with what the revolutionists agilely refer to as "wars of liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

This alleged independence movement has its allies. One is the Federation of University Students for Independence—whose leaders have scurried as far as Mongolia (a costly trip) to participate in anti-U.S. global gatherings of students.

San Juan, P.R., could face the prospect of violence similar to that which has affected other Latin American cities.

There is, too, the Puerto Rican Socialist League—no relation to the American brand advocated for so many decades by Norman Thomas. It is led by Juan Corretjer, who believes the traditional Communist party has gotten too moldy. He teaches Marxism and Leninism. He champions Castro's Cuba. He is in close touch with the tiny cells of the New York-based pro-Peking Progressive Labor party, a violent group of young, young people who were right in the midst of the '64 Harlem riots.

The party's chairman that year, William Epton, soon after was convicted of conspiring to riot and advocating criminal anarchy. After being sentenced to a year's imprisonment, he was released last January 4. His was the first indictment in New York on criminal anarchy charges since 1919.

Senor Corretjer is both socially and politically close with the Independence party of Puerto Rico and with the explosive Nationalist party of Puerto Rico. Some will recall how they did a Wild West from the public balcony in the House of Representatives here in '54 when they gunned down five congressmen.

This by no means insinuates that all those for the independence of Puerto Rico are allied with the terrorists. The political scientists expect the island to move slowly from Commonwealth status to statehood. Nor does the trigger-happy network have much strength on the mainland. But they are neo-revolutionists. And that's where the action is.

They can't stop the plebiscite. But they can embarrass such efforts as the cooperative venture of the Rockefellers' International Basic Economy Corp. (IBEC) and the proletarian, New York City-based International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Under the leadership of the now honorary president David Dubinsky and the current president Louis Stulberg, the union put up $25 million in mortgage money for the IBEC to build individual homes for some 2,000 families. So here is America today—a union puts up millions for a billion-dollar family subsidiary so low-income Puerto Rican workers can be housed in their own homes amid gardens and modern plumbing.

No revolutionist can tolerate this. So they plan to make a mockery of the free elections to prove that the long arm of the United States, its industry and its labor, is too short to protect them from the new "way-out" radicalism.

It will be a short, hot summer—fireworks and all.

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Chou En-lai's Threat

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Red Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai's threat to send vast armies into Viet Nam "the moment Hanoi is threatened with a 'sell-out peace,' " confirms Communist China's instigation and direction of the North Vietnamese aggression against South Viet Nam.

Red China's material aid doesn't equal Russia's (the Soviet supplies up to 80 per cent of the sophisticated weapons of war as well as petroleum needs of North Viet Nam), but its pressure in the form of threatened "help" obviously is the force keeping North Viet Nam from coming to the peace table.

The North Vietnamese probably fear the coming of "vast armies" of Red Chinese troops into their country far more than admission of the inability to conquer South Viet Nam. They lived under Chinese domination for many centuries and have no desire to return to puppet status of mainland China, particularly under the fanaticism of Mao Tse-tung.

Chou's threat of sending troops may not be idle, but his publicizing it through Simon Malley, to whom he granted the first interview given a foreign correspondent in two years, undoubtedly is part of the continuing Red propaganda drive attempting to influence American public opinion against the Viet Nam war.

Red China's military capabilities don't come anywhere near matching the military words of its fanatical leaders. It still is on the brink of civil war, badly split by anti-Maoist forces opposing the thought-crushing "Great Cultural Revolution."

Orders to the populace for a new austerity campaign indicate the situation in Red China may be even worse than refugees report. Widespread famine could be in the offing as farmers join in the foot-dragging operations against Mao.

No matter what threats are made by the Red Chinese, the United States has no choice but to honor its commitment to defend South Viet Nam from aggression. To weaken in the face of Communist Chinese threats would only increase the appetites of the Maoist war lords.

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The Advertising Industry Should Declare War on Washington

'Every creative man in the country has a choice: You can either stand up and be counted or sit back and be buried.'

By JERRY DELLA FEMINA

(Mr. Della Femina is Vice-President and Creative Supervisor of Ted Bates and Co., New York City. The following is the text of a speech he delivered before the Society of Communicating Arts in Charlotte, N.C., April 14, 1967. In calling on the advertising industry to fight with all its power against government regulation and interference of all kinds, Mr. Della Femina carefully explained that he was speaking only for himself and not his company. Although directed primarily to those in the advertising field, Mr. Della Femina's message should be read by every American businessman.)

How many of you have ever heard of Donald Turner? Well, what if I told you that if Mr. Turner, who is a member of the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice, has his way, advertising as you and I know it will be destroyed.

What if I told you that if Mr. Turner and his friends in Washington have their way, in 10 years everyone in this room will be either out of work or regulated to being a creative clerk. It's happening. It's happening so slowly and so neatly that most creative people are not aware of it.

The Donald Turners in key government posts are slowly but surely strangling the very business they live off. Advertising. They're doing it in the most immoral way they can—they're killing a business in the name of the public. The public. The public that they contend is too stupid to make the right decisions. So it needs government protection. Let's protect the public, they say. Because the public is stupid. Because the public is gullible and powerless.

Let's pass some laws to protect the masses. Never mind that the public has never held still for an inferior product in history. Never mind that the public makes or breaks new products every day. Never mind that the public can spot a phony product long before Mr. Turner. Never mind all this. Let's protect the public.

Let's make speeches . . . let's pass laws . . . let's knock some businessmen's heads together. Everybody knows businessmen don't fight back.

Not too long ago Donald Turner was quoted in *Advertising Age*: "Advertising may be a factor enabling a company to achieve domination of its market, so it might be appropriate to limit the advertising expenditures of such a company."

Let's translate that into English. When you have more money to spend on advertising than the next guy, you have an advantage over him. This, Mr. Turner contends, is not fair. It doesn't matter that you worked hard to get your money. Mr. Turner wants to fix it so you can't spend as much as you want. Mr. Turner feels you should spend as much or as little as he wants.

Now, Mr. Turner has been quoted in *Advertising Age* as saying that what he really meant was that we should consider restricting the spending of a very select few who really dominate their field. No, Mr. Turner doesn't want to kill us all at once. He wants to get us one at a time. Just a slice at a time. And everytime someone protests, the Turners of the world can say, All I'm taking is a slice. All I'm aiming at is cigarette advertising. We all know how bad cigarettes are. Or he can say, I'm just killing chewing gum advertising. We all know what a waste of time chewing gum advertising can be.

Or, all I'm restricting is Lever Brothers. We all know that they can cut down on advertising and charge less for their soaps. A slice at a time. The salami technique. Until one day those of us who started out with the whole salami take a look, and find the salami is all gone. That all we're holding in our hand is a tiny piece of string.

So, Mr. Turner feels you can't be far better than your smaller competitor. Instead, you have to be as good or as bad as he is. Equality—isn't it wonderful? Well, if Mr. Turner's idea is so good, let's apply it to all areas of life. Let's take Mr. Turner's idea and see if it works for sports.

Now then. Johnny Unitas can throw a football far better than any other quarterback in the National Football League. And, if this keeps up, Baltimore will have a monopoly on winning football games. We can't let that happen. It's unfair to the other quarterbacks in football. It's unfair to the public to have to see such perfection every Sunday.

So, applying Turner's law to sports, we'll just tie Johnny Unitas' right hand to his side for one period every game. Now, how's that for equality?

Let's not stop with sports. Let's apply it to our own business. Advertising. Creative advertising. Doyle Dane Bernbach has 50 of the best art directors in the country. I recently worked for a small agency that could only afford five good art directors. Talk about an unfair advantage. Every time my little agency competed with Doyle Dane, Doyle Dane had the advantage.

Now, as creative director of this small agency, I should have applied Turner's ideas and insisted on a law being passed that would limit Doyle Dane Bernbach to the services of just five directors whenever they were competing against my little agency. Five against five. How's that for equality?

It doesn't matter how hard Mr. Bernbach worked so that he could afford 50 great art directors. Now that he has them, he has an unfair advantage. Could you see him calling up Bob Gage, Len Sorowitz, Kelmut Khrone and 44 other great art directors and telling them they would have to stay home so that he might compete with my tiny agency fairly? No, I can't see it, either.

Speaking of monopoly, Mr. Turner hasn't got a monoply on harebrained ideas. Oh, no. Washington is full of people with nutty ideas on how the business of business should be conducted. The frightening part is that most of them have the power to see their nutty dreams come true.

Let's turn to Dr. James L. Goddard, who heads the Food and Drug Administration. He decided that ads in medical journals are a form of postgraduate courses for a doctor. How would you like to be treated by a doctor who relies on ads in medical journals for all his information and neglects to read the medical journals themselves?

Well, Dr. Goddard made some speeches warning drug industry groups that their advertising for prescription drugs was falling far short of his requirements. Then the good doctor showed how impatient and how powerful he could be. He ordered a series of seizure actions (following) medical journal ads for prominent drugs.

When the Upjohn Co. cancelled its advertising and protested, Dr. Goddard was quoted in *Advertising Age*. The doctor said, "Nonsense." Nonsense. That's governmentese for You'll advertise my way or I'll see to it that you don't advertise at all. The Federal Trade Commission wasn't going to be outdone by Dr. Goddard.

Among other things last year they ordered the Merck Co. to stop using TV commercials that say Sucrets kill even staph germs. Oh, the commercials were true. They were based on scientific evidence from Merck scientists. But the FTC wasn't going to let a little thing like scientific proof get in the way of their arbitrary decision.

"The business of business is being clubbed. And the only thing to do when you're being clubbed is to club back. . . . I propose an alliance made up of every creative person and businessman in the United States to hit these people where they live. They live in Washington. And that's exactly where I want to hurt them—in Washington."

—Jerry Della Femina

There's also Sen. Warren Magnuson. The good senator saw cigarette sales were going up and he didn't like it. You see, he decided that you and I shouldn't smoke. He also decided that we were not smart enough to know that we shouldn't smoke. So the good senator, who is looking out for our welfare (we are the public, you know), indicated that he will instigate legislation that will, in the next few years, kill all cigarette advertising. In a few years, over $260 million worth of advertising will disappear.

Maybe we all should be thankful. What if the good senator decided that he didn't want us to drink liquor? And I'm afraid to ask the good senator how he feels about birth control pills.

Now, I'm sure there are many of you wondering why I'm here making this kind of speech. After all, this is not your business. You're art directors and designers. Copywriters and artists. Well, listen to me. This better be your business. And it better be your business fast. Because if this brand of idiocy is allowed to flourish—you won't have a business.

Why am I telling you this? Because everyone in this audience has the one weapon that these people cannot cope with—your minds. Your creative minds. The people who persecute businessmen and advertising men cannot operate without the sanction of their victims. When you fight back their stupidity with reason, when you fight mindless acts with logic, you'll find that your antagonists are impotent.

Your next question is, "What can we do?" There are a couple of schools of thought about that. There are some who say let's educate these people. Many are saying we should communicate with government leaders. We should show them just how good and useful advertising really is. I don't agree with anyone who feels that way.

I feel if you were walking down the street one day and suddenly felt an arm around your neck and felt your head being bashed in by a blackjack that you would fight back because you were being mugged. No. I don't think that while you're being mugged you should turn to the man who's clubbing you and say. Stop. Please stop. You don't understand that I'm a good useful member of the community. I have a lot to offer. If you'll stop clubbing me for a second, I'll tell you what a good family man I am.

Well, you're being clubbed. Advertising is being clubbed. The business of business is being clubbed. And the only thing to do when you're being clubbed is to club back. No, I don't want to communicate with those people who want to kill advertising. I'd prefer to be part of a movement to destroy those people who want to kill advertising. Destroy them? I think we can. We have some great weapons. Our minds and our talents. *Advertising Age* is doing a magnificent job in exposing and judging many of these killers. But all the stories and editorials in *AA*—all the speeches as I'm making right this second—all the pamphlets put out by concerned businessmen won't hurt these people.

They won't hurt them because they're not going to hit them where they live. And I propose an alliance made up of every creative person and businessman in the United States to hit these people where they live. They live in Washington. And that's exactly where I want to hurt them—in Washington. Where the responsible members of government can see them for what they are.

How do we do this? What if every time someone in Washington came up with a harebrained scheme, another restriction, another decision based on whim instead of reason, the next day . . . the very next day a full-page ad. A great full-page ad appears in the Washington *Post* and this great ad tells creatively and beautifully just how ridiculous the latest Turner speech . . . the latest Sen. Magnuson bill . . . the newest Goddard outrage really is.

My, my. Can you imagine how Donald Turner would feel if he knew that every time he opened his mouth someone was waiting to make him eat his ridiculous words? How would Donald feel if every time he threatened a legitimate business that a band of businessmen armed with the finest creative minds in the country at their side would be waiting to threaten him right back? If every agency in the U.S. contributed a page in the Washington *Post* every day of the year if we needed it. We would get President Johnson's ear. And possibly open his eyes to some of the nincompoops who have pure, unlimited power.

A long while ago, I said that advertising was the most fun you could have with your clothes on. I meant it. It still is. And it will continue to be if we fight to keep it that way. Every creative man in the country has a choice: You can either stand up and be counted or sit back and be buried.

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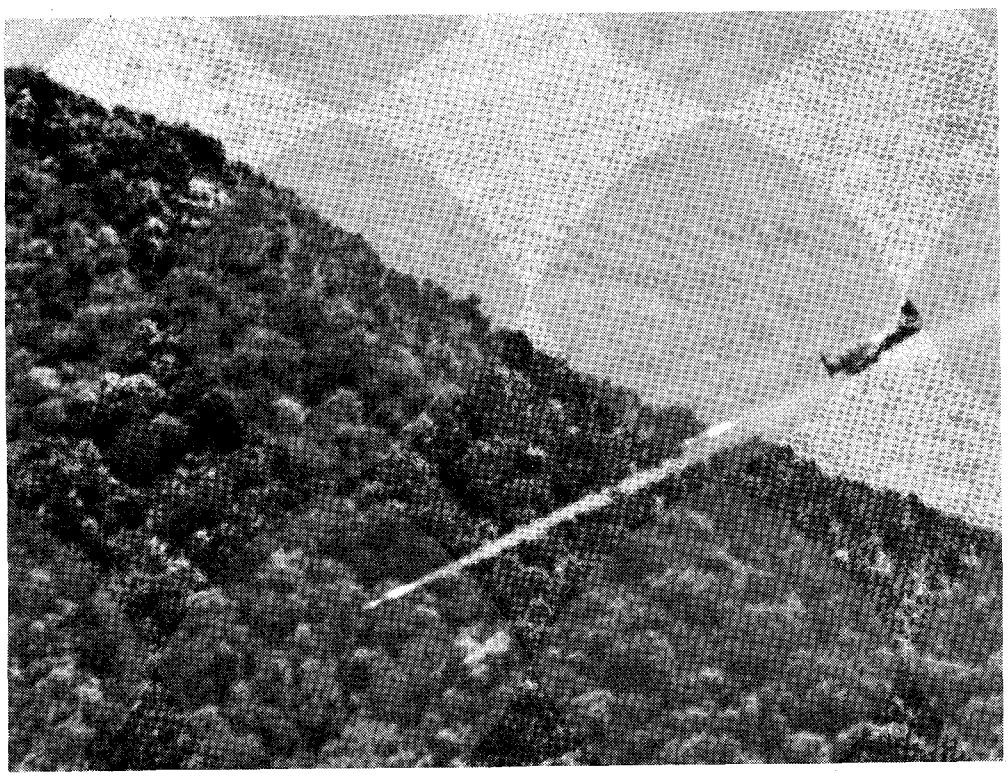

A USAF Skyraider hurls rockets into Viet Cong positions near the Cambodian border. Despite official denials, many Communist supplies are shipped through Cambodia to the Viet Cong forces in the south.

Was I Wrong About Cambodia?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

One of my prized mementos is a cablegram from the president of the Royal Council of Cambodia sent to me before the 1964 presidential campaign. It expressed "surprise" at my "acceptance blindly of the Pentagon's propaganda fable that supplies of war materiel for the Viet Cong have been passing through Cambodia."

It went on to say that this was just "a lame excuse for your military reversals in South Viet Nam."

If you will recall, I was at that time considered one of the world's leading warmongers simply because I was accurately describing various threats to the peace. The cablegram, therefore, was no surprise.

What is a surprise is that so little attention lately has been paid to two potentially crucial aftermaths of the warnings about supplies being shipped across Cambodia to the Viet Cong.

One, of course, is that there is now ample substantiation that a gigantic flow of supplies has been put through the Cambodian pipeline. The consequence of this is to prolong the war. The other is that the Communist influence that came along with the supplies now threatens to plunge Cambodia into fiery civil disorder, in which case we would be presented with a deadly backfire blazing right alongside the conflict in Viet Nam.

One recent report referred to the situation in Cambodia as no less than "a Communist revolt . . . similar in many respects to Viet Cong terrorism in Viet Nam and Pathet Lao insurgency in Laos."

The grave situation in Cambodia revolves around the VC supply pipeline which the Cambodians so loudly denied in the cable to me and which, dutifully, so many American doves of the period also loudly denied.

The enormity of that pipeline is revealed in reports made public in this country within the past few days. One, in the Los Angeles *Times*, says that not only have arms gone through the Cambodian pipeline, but that at least 50,000 troops have taken the same route.

"With the connivance of senior Cambodian officials," the report says, arms, aircraft and trucks sufficient to supply those 50,000 men were diverted from regular Cambodian arsenals (which had been supplied by the Red Chinese) and handed over to the VC.

Not only was this method of switching munitions used to supply the Viet Cong, but some of the supplies were handed over to Communist terrorists right in Cambodia, to be used toward the sort of growing guerrilla warfare that now threatens the nation.

Back in the days when the storm signals were up regarding the use of Cambodia as a Communist roundhouse, it was fashionable to ignore the evidence, to brand those who spoke of it as alarmists and to glow with liberal warmth over the inspiring example of Cambodian "neutralism."

In a well-known phrase of World War II, only the stars are neutral. The nations of earth simply cannot be when pressed between the choice of Communist aggression and tyranny and the free world's will to resist.

And yet, despite the accumulated evidence, it is an even-money bet that the situation in Cambodia easily could develop into a full-scale tragedy before receiving the public attention it so deeply deserves.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles *Times*)

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BATHROOMS FOR ALL—"The *Wall Street Journal* reports that in rural West Virginia 'add-a-john' has become an anti-poverty cry, and planners aim to bring indoor plumbing to 120,000 homes. Prefab bathroom units costing $300 each will be purchased with federal loans. We happen to be in favor of bathrooms for all. But we wonder if officials have cleared this idea with the New Left, some members of which are conspicuously and odoriferously opposed to bathrooms and bathing."—From the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

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Two Views of Castro

Vanessa Redgrave vs. Sandy Amoros

From the Arizona *Republic*

British actress Vanessa Redgrave, who raised money for medical aid to the Viet Cong under the auspices of the British Young Communist League, and who once stood up before a rally in Castro-style battle dress and sang a Cuban revolutionary song, told a recent rally: "I'm in complete sympathy with Castro. He's done fantastic things for Cuba."

It is tempting to dismiss Miss Redgrave's comments as those of a scatterbrained actress lacking in political wisdom. But not only addled actresses sympathize with Castro. A number of American leftists—particularly those who write for left-wing journals—also consider him a national savior who is merely the victim of a bad press.

Sandy Amoros wasn't thinking about politics when he returned to Havana in 1962 to visit his wife and daughter. He was a ballplayer, largely indifferent to politics. And although his career had been on the wane since his glory days with the Brooklyn Dodgers, he still was something of a national hero for his incredible 1955 World Series catch of a smash by Yogi Berra, which snuffed out a Yankee rally in the final game and helped the Dodgers win their first World Series title.

But Amoros was no hero to Castro, whose revolutionary principles require that everyone be treated the same: badly. The regime refused to allow Amoros to return to Mexico City to play baseball. And when he refused to manage the Cuban national baseball team, he suddenly found himself without a job and without hope.

Recently, after a five-year imprisonment, Amoros—in borrowed, ragged clothes—arrived at Miami's Freedom House with his wife and daughter aboard one of the twice-daily shuttle flights from Cuba. He was 30 pounds lighter than the 165 lbs. of his playing days. He didn't have a penny. And his auto and $30,000 ranch had been confiscated by the Castro government.

Amoros' tale is no worse than most. It differs only in that it has a happy ending: The Dodgers, his old team, signed him for five days to enable him to qualify for a major league pension. But most of the thousands of Cuban refugees concentrated mainly in Florida—many of them professional men forced to hold menial jobs—are victims of equally bad treatment by Castro . . . treatment which ex-Cuban diplomat Raul Volta Landa (who defected in London six months ago) described as that of "a police state far worse than under Batista."

Can that be what Vanessa Redgrave considers to be one of Castro's "fantastic" accomplishments?

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LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON—Illinois State Treasurer Adlai Stevenson III (son of the late ambassador to the United Nations) charged recently that state legislatures lack the responsibility to spend federal funds wisely in their states. "At the moment I would prefer to trust the federal government as to how we spend federal money in the states," he was quoted as saying in a speech in DeKalb. " . . . until state government reaches that point of political maturity where it can be trusted to spend its revenues wisely, I think it [the money] ought to have a lot of federal strings attached."

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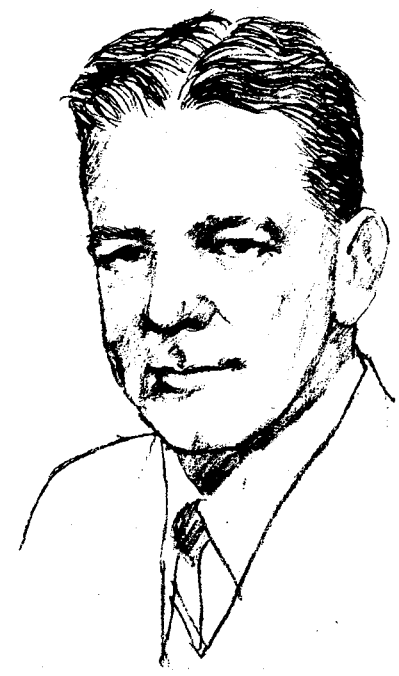

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Wallace and the Missile Crisis

George Wallace needs to do a little homework on foreign policy.

Interviewed last week on ABC's "Issues and Answers," the former Alabama governor, who now says he is considerably closer to becoming a presidential candidate, urged the U.S. government to adopt a strong anti-Communist posture—advice no conservative would quarrel with. But then Wallace went on to assert that "Communists themselves fear strong postures, as witness President Kennedy's confrontation with Khrushchev on the Cuban matter. He didn't rattle sabers or rockets, but he was firm and they withdrew."

It seems that even the "Fighting Little Judge" has been seduced by the propaganda of the liberal press, because the Missile Crisis was not so simple. Granted the Soviets did, in some sense, back down, but only because a deal was worked out with President Kennedy, not because the United States was "firm" and adopted a "strong posture."

Briefly summarized, here is what happened during those tense days in October 1962:

It was on October 14, amid mounting concern that Russian missiles were in Cuba, that President Kennedy's special

Former Alabama Gov. George Wallace believes President Kennedy adopted a "strong posture" in the Cuban missile crisis.

assistant, McGeorge Bundy, firmly assured the press that such reports were entirely unfounded. But eight days later Kennedy was forced to admit to the nation and the world that American intelligence had again been caught napping, and offensive missiles were operational only 90 miles from the Florida coast.

On October 26, Aleksandr S. Fomin, a Soviet diplomat and top Russian intelligence officer, summoned ABC White House correspondent John Scali to a clandestine rendezvous in Washington. Fomin asked Scali, a person known to be trusted in the highest echelons of the Kennedy Administration, to approach the State Department to determine if the United States would pledge not to invade Cuba if Russia agreed to withdraw its missiles and allow the United Nations to inspect and verify their removal.

Scali took the message to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, who replied, in a handwritten note, that the U.S. government "sees real possibilities in the plan." The following day Radio Moscow broadcast the text of a letter written to JFK by Premier Khrushchev upping the ante with the demand that U.S. missiles also be removed from Turkey.

Kennedy's reply to the Khrushchev letter ignored the demand for the removal of our missiles from Turkey, but guaranteed that there would be no invasion of Cuba if the Russian missiles were removed.

Thereupon, if we can take the Soviets' word for it, the missiles in Cuba were dismantled and removed. That, however, is one of history's very big "ifs," since U.N. inspection of the alleged removal was never permitted. But not a murmur of protest was heard from the White House, which instead stepped up its propaganda campaign to convince an anxious America that its young President had just won a major Cold War victory.

Many knowledgeable observers were unconvinced. Among them was Richard Russell (Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. "To this day," as he later stated in a magazine interview, "while we believe the missiles have been removed, for all we know they could be hidden away in caves in Cuba at this very moment."

Furthermore, within 90 days the United States had removed its missiles not only from Turkey, the quid pro quo Khrushchev had demanded, but from Italy and England as well. Was this what Gov. Wallace meant by standing firm? What else John Kennedy gave away to win a Pyrrhic victory is anybody's guess.

Although his words obviously cannot be trusted without question, Fidel Castro gave rise to much speculation when he declared in a recent *Playboy* magazine interview that "one day perhaps, it will be known that the United States made some other concessions in relation to the October crisis besides those that were made public."

In view of certain amazing aspects of our foreign policy since that time, it is legitimate to wonder if those "other concessions" might have included, for instance, promises of expanded trade and credit with Communist-bloc nations and guarantees that the United States would limit its resistance to Communist-provoked "wars of national liberation" in Latin America, Asia and around the globe. Clearly, that could be one explanation for our inexhaustible patience with our "allies" trading with North Viet Nam and our tolerance of the sanctuaries which the Viet Cong have been afforded in Cambodia, Laos and Thailand.

Today, nearly five years after the crisis, the renewed presence of offensive missiles in Cuba is widely reported by Cuban emigre groups and by other reliable sources, both within and outside our government. Soviet shipping to Cuba has been stepped up recently and thousands of Russian troops and technical advisers remain on the island, training native revolutionaries and cadres imported from throughout Latin America in the techniques of armed revolution and guerrilla warfare. The "Great Society" is as certain today as the New Frontier was in 1962 that these reports are the unfounded delusions of "right-wing extremists."

In light of the Kennedy Administration's momentous failure to prosecute a strong foreign policy in our own hemisphere—despite what George Wallace believes—is it not fair to assume that Ho Chi Minh, sitting in Hanoi, today doubts the determination of the United States to achieve victory in that far-away war?

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

USDA Bureaucracy

By REP. TOM KLEPPE (R.-N.D.)

The latest Department of Agriculture report shows the farm parity ratio down to 72, lowest since the depression days of the early 1930s. But while farm prices were skidding, employment within the department was picking up. Chairman George H. Mahon (D.-Tex.) of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures reports USDA added 2,328 employes during March, bringing its total payroll to 107,764. This means there is now one USDA employe for every 28 farms. At that rate, it won't be many years before there are more federal employes supervising farmers than there are farmers. Mr. Mahon also reports total federal civilian employment in March reached 2,882,634 compared with 2,788,097 at the beginning of the fiscal year last July.

Curb the Courts

By SEN. NORRIS COTTON (R.-N.H.)

The police officer doesn't want a crutch —he wants a weapon. In the President's [crime] message there was not a word, not a syllable, not a hint about what law enforcement officers almost universally regard as the heart of the crime problem—the need for laws to counteract Supreme Court decisions which have made it next to impossible to convict criminals.

Credibility Gap

By REP. SAM STEIGER (R.-Ariz.)

The credibility gap and the public relations expenditures of the Johnson Administration will be an important issue in the 1968 congressional elections. The credibility gap becomes even more difficult to understand in the face of the figures that were revealed recently as regards the government's expenditure on public relations. Your Administration is spending $425 million a year to brainwash the public. The Department of Agriculture spends almost $9 million. Defense Secretary McNamara has 3,000 publicity personnel and a budget of over $32 million. OEO has 46 people who do nothing but public relations. These figures represent some $75 million more than it takes to run the Congress and the Supreme Court combined. I would say that it's a very expensive credibility gap indeed.

Tax on Social Security

By REP. GUY VANDER JAGT (R.-Mich.)

The President recently announced plans to tax the Social Security benefits paid to persons over 65. The Social Security system was designed as a non-voluntary program. Taxes were paid on the money withheld to support the system; now the Administration wants to tax the senior citizen twice; once when he pays the premium and second when he receives the benefits from the program. Congress will seriously question this attempt to change the original intent of the Social Security system and place additional burdens on our already overburdened senior citizens.

Draft Card Burning

By REP. L. MENDEL RIVERS (D.-S. C.)

I wrote a law not long ago that made it a crime to willfully destroy or burn a draft card. One circuit court upheld it as being constitutional. Another circuit court in Boston said that it was unconstitutional.

The chief argument for the latter decision was that their own court records could be destroyed in this same symbolic action, even though there are federal laws against such action. And I guess this same court would pat on the back anyone who wants to burn an American flag as a symbolic act.

This is the extent to which freedom of speech has gone, as interpreted by a court which is long on theory and short on practice.

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DEMOCRATIC HEADACHE—Something that worries the Democrats: Bobby Baker got one to three years. That's just long enough to write a book.

ETV Problems

Teaching or Indoctrinating?

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S.C.)

The 1st Amendment to the Constitution prohibits Congress from taking any action restricting the freedom of the press. The United States has a rich heritage of free expression of ideas and personal viewpoints, both in the press and by private individuals. Recently, there have been proposals advanced which constitute a threat to the traditional freedom of the press, although they have not taken the form of the most usual and expected types of attacks on freedom of the press.

One such threat was the attempt to finance a newspaper by a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Because of timely objections raised by members of Congress, this threat has been eliminated. The head of OEO has announced that it is against the policy of the OEO to finance newspapers of this type to compete with the free press.

Another, and much more subtle, threat of a similar nature is contained in a bill approved by the United States Senate last week. This is the bill to create a public, governmentally financed, educational television and radio corporation (S. 1160). The main purpose of the corporation created by the bill is to assist in, encourage and, most importantly, finance the production of educational and cultural programs to be offered free of charge to educational television stations around the country.

The principle underlying the creation of a publicly financed and governmentally controlled radio and television network raises very serious questions of basic constitutional policy. Nowhere in the Constitution is there to be found any authority for the central government to enter this field of activity.

This proposal represents a radical new departure in the government's role both toward the communications media of radio and television and toward education. For the first time the government is to be significantly involved in the preparation of programs for viewing by the public.

In addition, since the programs to be written, produced and financed under the direction of the corporation are billed as educational efforts, this is tantamount to the government being responsible for the contents of textbooks. The potential for using the broad discretion granted to the corporation in the name of academic freedom, to be used to distribute their own brand of propaganda, is enormous.

I favor the widespread but proper use of educational television. From all indications, the future of television as a method for instructing students and thereby taking a burden off already crowded facilities and taking maximum advantage of instructors is bright. There is, however, a right way and a wrong way to proceed. The state of South Carolina has pointed out the proper approach to the utilization of classroom television as a teaching tool and can be proud of the advances made, which are a model to the rest of the states of the Union.

The direct involvement of the central government in the way this bill proposes is definitely the wrong way to proceed. It is true that the sponsors have written certain safeguards into the bill. For instance, all partisan politics have been carefully excluded from the programs prepared by or for the corporation.

This is commendable, but it is not enough. While there may be no partisanship in the sense of obviously favoring one political party over the other, there can, and most probably will be, an obvious philosophical or ideological bias.

The very procedure resorted to in order to insulate the corporation from political influence creates the opportunity for the corporation, through its board of directors and staff, to sell their own philosophical or ideological viewpoints. The board of directors, once appointed and confirmed, are free agents in every sense of the word. They will owe initial allegiance to the President who appointed them. Since the term of office is six years, they may feel no special compulsion to follow his wishes. The films produced under their supervision need meet no popular-demand test.

The creation of even one mode of the news media which is wholly, or even partially, dependent upon financial support from the government is an unwholesome and dangerous precedent.

The potential use of this corporation to promote ideological viewpoints of a particular persuasion is immense. No man, or group of men, should be endowed with the powers thus created.

House Rejects Model Cities Cutbacks, 213-193

Following is the 213-to-193 roll-call vote by which the House on May 17 rejected a motion by Rep. Robert Michel (R.-Ill.) to recommit the money bill for the Model Cities program to committee with instructions to allow only $12 million for this pet "Great Society" scheme through 1969. The move failed and the program will now cost the taxpayer over $237 million through 1969. Michel noted that the Model Cities program "will be our most costly domestic activity" in a few years, with some big-city mayors calling for "a quarter of a trillion dollars" just to rehabilitate slums.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 52

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews (Ala.)
Ashmore
Baring
Bennett
Bevill
Brinkley
Burleson
Casey
Colmer
Davis (Ga.)
Dorn

Dowdy
Fisher
Flynt
Fountain
Fuqua
Gathings
Gettys
Hagan
Haley
Hebert
Henderson

Herlong
Ichord
Jarman
Jones (Mo.)
Jones (N.C.)
Lennon
Long (La.)
Marsh
Montgomery
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)

Passman
Pool
Randall
Rarick
Rivers
Rogers (Fla.)
Selden
Sikes
Steed
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Tuck
Waggonner
Walker
White
Whitener
Whitten

REPUBLICANS FOR: 141

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Battin
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Bolton
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burke (Fla.)
Burton (Utah)
Bush
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtis
Davis (Wis.)
Denney
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Fino
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Gardner
Goodell
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Hammerschmidt
Hansen (Idaho)
Harrison
Harsha
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
King (N.Y.)
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Kyl
Langen
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McClory
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald (Mich.)
McEwen
Mailliard
Martin
Mathias (Calif.)
May
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Mize
Moore
Myers
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pelly
Poff
Pollock
Price (Tex.)
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Reid (Ill.)
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Roth
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schwengel
Scott
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N.Y.)
Smith (Okla.)
Snyder
Springer
Stanton
Steiger (Ariz.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
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Wiggins
Williams (Pa.)
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Wyatt
Wydler
Wylie
Zion
Zwach

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Barrett
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Blanton
Blatnik
Boggs
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Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Cabell
Carey
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Dent
Donohue
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Edwards (La.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Everett
Evins (Tenn.)
Fallon
Farbstein
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, Wm. D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Galifianakis
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hardy
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hungate
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
King (Calif.)
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Long (Md.)
McCarthy
McFall
Macdonald (Mass.)
Machen
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller (Calif.)
Mills
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris (N.M.)
Multer
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Natcher
Nix
O'Hara (Ill.)
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O'Neill (Mass.)
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Pike
Poage
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Rhodes (Pa.)
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Rooney (N.Y.)
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Rosenthal
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Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
Satterfield
Scheuer
Shipley
Sisk
Slack
Staggers
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Tenzer
Thompson (N.J.)
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Watts
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 35

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Bates
Bell
Brown (Mich.)
Button
Corbett
Dwyer
Fulton (Pa.)
Gude
Halpern
Harvey
Heckler (Mass.)
Horton
Keith
Kupferman
McDade
Mathias (Md.)
Morse (Mass.)
Morton
Mosher
Pettis
Pirnie
Reid (N.Y.)
Reifel
Riegle
Robison
Sandman
Schweiker
Shriver
Stafford
Taft
Whalen
Widnall
Wyman

NOT VOTING: 28

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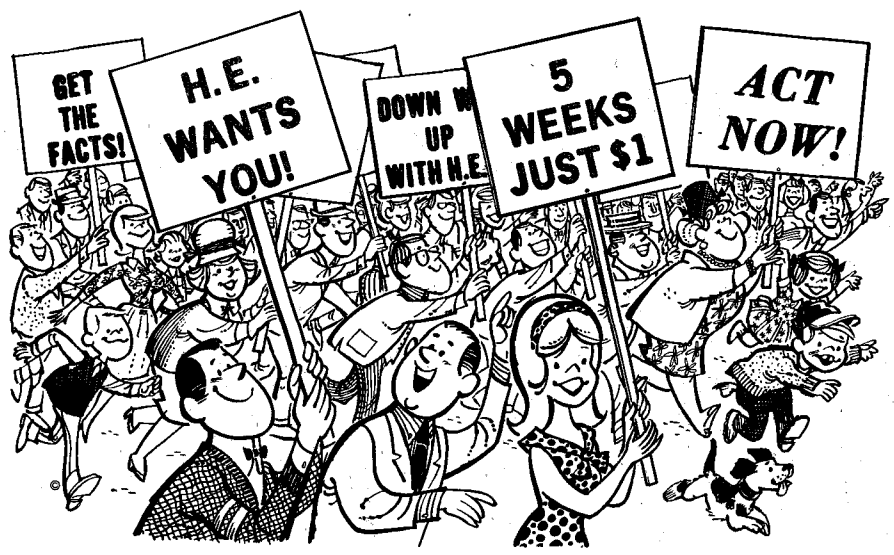

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Young Rightists and Leftists Agree on One Issue: The Draft

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The young in this country are supposed to be going in two different directions. There are the conservatives who belong to Young Americans for Freedom. And there are the radicals who flock into Students for a Democratic Society.

Actually, the young conservatives and the young radicals happen in many instances to be marching to the beat of the same drummer. There are libertarians in both camps who fear the compulsions that seem an inevitable part of a mass society. They dislike big organizations, snooping government, the depersonalized teaching in big universities. And, above all, they agree on disliking compulsory military service.

So what we are seeing is a strange tendency of the right and the left to get together in new united fronts. In Chicago, where conservative economics teachers such as Prof. Milton Friedman and Prof. Yale Brozen hold forth on the virtues of the free market, they are forming a society of rightist and leftist youths to explore the possibilities of moving away from a draft army to a professional army composed entirely of volunteers.

The other night, as a guest at the annual meeting of the Connecticut Young Americans for Freedom held at the University of Bridgeport, I listened to a number of hawkish speeches on Viet Nam. But, surprisingly, the feeling against the compulsory military draft came to the fore in both the speeches and in the questions that followed them.

A visitor from the Rhode Island chapter of Young Americans for Freedom spoke of the right to volunteer as a precious right that should not be smirched by the necessity of having to appear before draft boards and carry draft cards. He told an appreciative audience about the number of former Rhode Island YAF members who were now in Viet Nam after freely enlisting in the armed services.

The expense of maintaining a professional army might, at first blush, seem prohibitive. But Prof. Friedman was quoted at length at the Bridgeport YAF meeting to prove that 500,000 well-paid professionals would actually be cheaper to maintain in the field than an equal number of draftees. To begin with, professionals might be expected to enlist for 20 years, providing an army that is constant in its fighting know-how. The smaller turnover in professionals would mean that a good deal of money could be saved on the training of recruits.

Moreover, fewer good military men would have to be detailed as instructors in training camps. On the civilian side, the country would gain in productivity as young people with an aptitude for civilian jobs got a two-year jump in the careers to which they would normally be expected to devote their lives.

For hawks, the Young Americans for Freedom are surprisingly tender toward sincere pacifists. James Jay Ferris, writing in a mimeographed YAF magazine called *Renascence,* says: "Permit me to make what may perhaps be a heroic assumption, that pacifists are rational." The moral imperative of the pacifist, he continues, "is not to be a party to, nor directly involved in the initiation of physical violation against others." But Mr. Ferris goes on to say that "men who initiate the use of physical violence must be constrained, by physical violence if necessary. To take any other position is to invite self-destruction of any and all life appropriate to human beings."

With this view of pacifism, it is not surprising that a majority in Young Americans for Freedom support the U.S. position in Viet Nam. Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Cong have obviously "initiated" physical violence against the South Vietnamese. But to hold that Ho Chi Minh is the initiator of the Vietnamese conflict does not necessarily mean to YAF that sincere pacifists should be conscripted to fight a small-scale war.

To me, it seems doubtful that the draft will be abolished as long as the United States is involved in an active struggle in Southeast Asia. But if and when the war ends, it will be most interesting to see how far a united front between young rightists and young leftists will go. The libertarian note that dominates much of the thinking in both camps is not compatible with Big Government collectivism. The Communists may be in for quite a surprise after the war when they try to maintain liaison with the young doves whom they now seem to be manipulating for their own collectivist ends.

University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman is among those backing an all-volunteer army.

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AIDING THE ENEMY—The ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee expressed "great dismay" recently that the Import-Export Bank has under consideration a plan to help Communist Rumania build a huge steel mill. Indiana Rep. Ross Adair minced no words: "Our brave fliers have risked their lives over North Viet Nam in bombing Ho Chi Minh's steel mills. Steel mills are still the core of the industrial might of a nation. At least prior to World War II, we only shipped scrap metal to Japan. We forced the Japanese to melt it down in order to get steel. Nowadays we seem to be willing to supply our Communist enemies with the whole package."

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